

McGRAW-HILL SERIES IN EDUCATION

HAROLD BENJAMIN, *Consulting Editor*

School Problems in Human Relations



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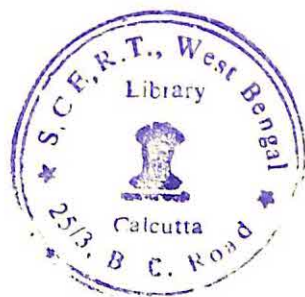
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SCHOOL PROBLEMS IN HUMAN RELATIONS

Lloyd and Elaine Cook

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY



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Preface

The present book is a study of problems in human relations in and about schools and of what was done, or might have been done, to solve them. The content consists mainly of concrete cases gathered by the authors as consultants to schools and communities, plus data from the social sciences. The writers are educational sociologists, engaged in college teaching and in field research.

If the volume has a central theme, it is that schools are expected more and more to become agents of the community in respect to the health, welfare, safety, and education of young people—and people not so young. Schools are expected to work with homes, government, civic agencies, and area institutions in defining and implementing good educational policies and practices for the community. One phase of this work, the phase with which the present text is concerned, is solving problems in human relations.

Part One of the book defines human relations education, discusses methods of problem solving, and suggests kinds of learning from which the aims of a specific course can be planned. Part Two, the basic division, consists of nine case-centered chapters concerned, respectively, with first teaching, room order, individual differences, intergroup relations, mass media, nonclass activities, school-home relations, area study and action, and school head and staff relations. Part Three deals at length with the teacher-leader role in "change action." It is more abstract and penetrating than are the case chapters.

Were human relations as central in the education of all school personnel as they are destined to become, it would be easy to say where the study of school and community problems fits into the professional curriculum. Today the matter is in some doubt. We



have used the material presented here in both undergraduate and graduate courses in human relations education. The book can be recommended for courses or workshops in human relations problem solving, school-community relations, social education, and school administration. Much of the manuscript's contents has also been taught in the first course for undergraduate education majors.

It is not possible, to our sincere regret, to acknowledge by name the many persons who have contributed to this book. To our students in particular, and to professors who have taught parts of the text, our obligations are indeed great. To President Clarence B. Hilberry, the first author is grateful for the opportunity of entering university administration. One gets a different view of human relations from an administrative post than from a professor's position, and we have profited from this change of perspective.

LLOYD ALLEN COOK
ELAINE FORSYTH COOK

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PART ONE

Setting and Problem

CHAPTER 1

Introduction—Human Relations Education

The problem of America is how to translate great technological progress into great human progress. It is a problem in human relations and human wellbeing.

—WALTER B. REUTHER

Human relations is an old interest in education, one that is today being built into a general field of training for all school personnel. The trend is from a peripheral concern in various college courses to a central concern in one or more general courses required of undergraduates and graduates. The trend is also from an impulse to be kind to people, to do good, into a study of *the human factors in the educative process*, the human side of the teacher-leader role in school and community work. It is the aim of this book to contribute to this ongoing trend, to deepen the awareness and increase the skills of students in their work with people.

The aim of Part One is to define the field, to prepare pre- and inservice school personnel to deal with the problem cases in Part Two. The aims of this initial chapter are two. One is to acquaint students with the kinds of materials that are relevant to their classroom work, and the other is to outline a frame of reference in which such data will make sense. Chapter 2 discusses the practice of problem solving, with emphasis on skill training in group-action processes. In Chapter 3, a set of learning objectives is proposed from which, it is assumed, a study group may deter-

mine the specific aims of a given college course. These three chapters provide an orientation to the HR field and should be reviewed as a whole after each has been studied individually.

SCHOOL PROBLEMS, A RANGE OF CASES

It is important, it seems to us, to begin a course of study with concrete school and community cases, to develop at the outset the habit of frank talk. Any kind of case would do as long as it furthered thought. The cases to be used are taken from a body of material to be defined in Chapter 2. Aside from ranging from simple to complex, the cases given are selected at random. Each one is not unlike a sound outside a window, in part familiar, in part strange, thus inviting investigation.

In the first case, the writer is a teacher, the sponsor of the grade school student council.

No Votes for Baby

At this school council meeting, room leaders in grades 1 to 5 were to present problems on which the council could work for the semester. Things were moving along in a routine way when it came the turn of a second grader to report. This little chap marched down the aisle and climbed the steps to the stage, as big as you please. After a bit of fumbling, he drew a paper from his hip pocket and began to read.

The problem that brought the biggest laugh was fifth on his list. The second grade, it seemed, was tired of being called "babies." These boys and girls were not babies, indeed not. They were grownups, or almost so, and would the school please stop calling them by such an awful name!

Billy's request struck us all as so funny that we laughed long and loud. The boy's face turned red, and then, as our merriment spread, he put his hands over his eyes, turned, and darted down the steps and out a door. He went to his room, where his teacher sent him back. I talked to him about his behavior, after which the group went ahead with business.

It is our custom, after room leaders have reported, to list all the problems presented and then to select by vote the ten on which we shall work for the semester. As to be expected, no one—not even

Baby, I mean Billy—voted for the “problem” which had given us such a hearty laugh.

It seems evident first off that school problems in human relations, the practical issues which arise on the job, will furnish a poor, small feast for the great minds that seek to remake society, the world changers. Cases in the series will get more complex, yet it is the little things that cause school personnel the most trouble, things at times quite like the “No Votes for Baby” incident.

Were human relations in the above case well managed? Our students, especially undergraduates, do not agree on this. Some will argue that young children can expect to be called babies, that in a few years they will outgrow the label. To these students, the teacher seemed realistic, that and nothing else. Other students will assert that such terms belittle and debase persons and thus are harmful to personality development. They will say that such words and phrasings get lodged in the culture of the school and await each incoming pupil group. A teacher who is interested in how people treat people should, in their view, try to end these epithets. How this can be done is an issue on which they like to speculate.

The next case spotlights a school craze, a condition that is recurrent but never tends to last for long.

Hand Holding at Pilgrim

Here at the Pilgrim Junior High School there is a curious state of affairs. Students go walking up and down the hallways, in and out of classes, hand in hand. Friends hold hands, strangers hold hands, and pupils who do not are kidded about being queer. Schools get bitten by funny bugs but I have never heard of one as crazy as this.

Fun is fun, to be sure, but where does it stop? Our faculty is disturbed, especially our principal, Mrs. Marsh.

I have been told by students that hand holding started about a week or more ago in a certain class. I shall call the teacher Mrs. Patty. She is old and crabby, and young people do not like her. When they first began to hold hands, she sent them to the office, but Mrs. Marsh sent them back. Now, hand holding had swept the whole school, for reasons that I do not know.

At a faculty meeting today, Mrs. Patty spoke up about the problem. She named two ringleaders from her room and asked that they be suspended until they learned how to behave. Mrs. Marsh said the whole thing was "too silly for words," adding that she didn't know what would happen if parents found out. She agreed to send all flagrant offenders home, if nothing else could be done.

Here we would like to ask if students know about things like this from their experience, if they can tell about school crazes. Waller¹ gives a good discussion of such group behavior. An instructor and class may wish to start now a system whereby volunteers do reading on points of interest in a case and then report to class.

Can school crazes be handled by punitive measures? Perhaps so, since this is a common school head and/or faculty reaction pattern. But suppose, for the sake of discussion, a different idea had prevailed at the Pilgrim School. Suppose hand holding had been ignored. Or better still, suppose that teachers had taken it up, gone around holding hands, made a ceremonial of it. In either event, might the problem have been solved? Might pupils have given up the fad, struck off on some other tangent? It is informative to hear education majors talk about this.

The third case is written by the eighth-grade math teacher.

Math or Else!

One day last semester when I was giving a test, I looked across the hall and saw that my friend, who teaches history, had given her students a writing assignment, so I motioned to her to come in a minute. Seeing that I was testing, she began to joke. "I bet your seniors couldn't pass my eighth-grade math test," I said. One word led to another, and she took up the dare. She gave my test the next day, and on that coming Saturday, things began to happen.

A senior, who had taken the test, saw me in Holten's one big home-owned grocery store and asked how his class had made out. I told him that half the group had flunked, at which he laughed. This would have ended it, I suppose, had not the grocer overheard us. He butted in, asking questions for the full details. Had I not been new [first year] in the combined junior-senior high school, I would have known that he [Mr. X] was a member of the school board.

¹ Willard Waller, *Sociology of Teaching*, Wiley, 1932, chap. 12.

At the very next board meeting, Mr. X cut loose. According to Mr. Troy, the Holten superintendent, X asked to present "an emergency matter." Without waiting for consent, he launched forth on a "condition" at the high school that needed "correction." Pointing to Mr. Troy, he said: "Now, *perfesser*, will you please explain why our high school seniors failed an eighth-grade math test?" Not knowing what the question was about, Troy made some vague reply. Mr. X waggled his finger and repeated his query. Still not knowing anything about our silly little joke, the superintendent stated that, in general, Holten seniors should do well in any eighth-grade subject, including mathematics.

Old X is a cranky sort, and this I know from trading at his grocery. According to Troy, he began to hammer the table in making his points. "Exactly," he said. "Seniors should be smarter than eighth-grade students. They should be four years smarter. Why, then, Mr. Superintendent of Schools, should these fine young men and women, the future citizens of Holten, not pass a simple math test? Why is this so? Why? I hope you have the answer."

Now fully bewildered, Mr. Troy could say only that he did not understand, that he did not know. Would Mr. X please explain? The old pot ignored the question and went off on his favorite theme—his own life and hard times, a story I had got in dribs at the grocery store. Up before daylight. Fed and watered stock. Milked. Washed up, changed clothes, had breakfast. Off to school, a 2-mile walk. Hard work at school, no loafing. Lots of math, "plain math," nothing fancy. All to the good; in fact, math made him the outstanding success which he was. So why were the seniors so deficient?

Troy told us frankly that he sat like a dummy, unable to think of a way to get through to the man, to communicate with him. Still going strong, X proposed a motion but was ruled out of order. To placate him, the board chairman agreed that the board would inform itself about mathematics in the junior-senior high school.

For a month or more, we had board members on our necks. They would come to classes unannounced, ask questions of students, break into discussions with their comments, and in general scare us all to death. X, in particular, was a pest. We teachers took to warning one another whenever he showed up. He would criticize us in front of class, in math more than any other subject, and as I have said, the students were scared to death. All of this, mind you, bypassed the superintendent's office. When parents began to wonder what was happening, and to ask questions, Troy saw that something would have to be done.

It is not the custom at Holten to have faculty meetings, except for some very special reason. However, six of us did get together, a meeting Troy knew about but did not attend. Since I had started the trouble, it seemed fair to volunteer to resign my position, which I did. After this had been kicked around a bit, the group agreed that it would do no good. It was decided that we should ask the superintendent to write a letter to the school board. The letter should assure the board and the community that we were doing a conscientious teaching job and that, if doubt existed, we would welcome a formal study of our schoolwork.

Mr. Troy presented this letter at the next meeting of the board. Mr. X could scarcely wait until Troy had finished before demanding, in his imperious way, an immediate "school reform." This time he got his motion made. It was for 4 years of math for high school boys, with no boy to be excused except on board consent! Math was to be "plain math," that is, no algebra, "trigometry," or anything of the sort.

Of course our eyes bugged when the superintendent told us this and we asked, in chorus, what had happened? Did the motion pass and what, for heaven sake, had Troy done to stop it? When he was invited to speak, he had made three main points. He spoke first of the importance of math in life, a preparation for life, etc. Next, he stressed the need to keep balance in the curriculum. Third, if the board wished, a study of school offerings would be made, with a report to the board for its action.

Well, the motion failed to carry by one vote. Had it passed, we would have been in a ridiculous position, stuck with a ruling quite impossible to work out. Mr. Troy is certain, and we agree, that this is not the end of Mr. X. What to do now is the problem on which the Holten School needs help.

Math or else! Else what? When Mr. Troy stopped in for a talk with us, his interest was in a math curriculum. Once this was clearly evident, we made an appointment for him with a college specialist in the high school math field. Although this did not end the case, that story will keep. This is a good problem for a class to try to resolve. Since no case is ever detailed enough, "if . . . then" assumptions must be made. If this is true, then that should be done, and so forth.

It is time to say, in passing, that the cases in this book are of several sorts. Some are puzzles to solve; some are problems that

have been worked out by case reporters; and in some instances, where we have been asked to help, we have told what was done. Any and all data should be subjected to student criticisms, and where needful, a better plan of action should be evolved. The idea is to *make case study an active learning process*, an exercise from start to finish in the practice of problem solving.

The fourth case is an experiment in fifth-grade science teaching. The instructor equated two of his classes. One was taught by the usual method of recitation from a textbook. The other was divided into "table teams" of four or five members, then given a set of prepared study units and a kit of materials. Team members worked together on assignments, asking the teacher for help when that was needed. The two classes covered the same course of study and at the semester's end were given the same tests. We shall skip findings on subject-matter mastery, data which favored the team method, in order to focus on pupil attitudes toward science work and toward other pupils.

The writer of the report is, as usual, the teacher in the case.

An Experiment in Science Teaching

At the end of the semester, I passed out note paper to each of these fifth-grade classes. I gave each pupil a set of instructions, which we read together in class. Instructions were as follows:

Think now and put into words just how you feel about our science work this semester. Write down your true answers, just the way you really feel. Here are the questions you should answer.

1. How did you feel about fifth-grade science when we first began our work this semester? Did you feel that it was hard, or fun, or what?

2. How do you feel about science work now? Do you feel that it is hard, or fun, or what? Write as much as you can about this.

3. Do you like the other boys and girls in your class? Do you like them a little or a whole lot? Or maybe you dislike them? Write down the way you feel about your classmates. After you have written this, write down why you feel the way you do.

In general, test findings were very favorable to the table-team plan of teaching fifth-grade science. To be more exact, about two-

thirds of each group felt that science work was hard at the beginning of the semester. At the end, less than a third of the recitation class said that science was fun, whereas a full two-thirds of the table-team members so reported.

On question 3, about classmates, pupil reactions were as follows:

Reaction	Textbook group, %	Table-team group, %
Liked classmates a whole lot.....	26	61
Liked them just so-so.....	38	13
Didn't like them, or liked little.....	24	22
Reaction unclear, can't classify.....	12	4

This table shows, I think, that pupils got acquainted in their work teams much better than in their regular class and that they tended to like one another. However, the rather high "dislike" score for these teams surprise me. The reason is, perhaps, that acquaintance does not guarantee that persons will like each other; in fact, so much may be known about an individual that he is not liked at all. The last entry in the table, it seems to me, supports my general conclusion. I could classify all but 4 per cent of the team-member reactions, whereas 12 per cent of the other group's responses were unclear. Put in another way, team members seemed to know how they felt about human relations in their class.

As for my part, I am for the table-team approach to science teaching. It gets better subject-matter learnings and it does more toward developing human relations in the pupil group.

One point about this teacher is that he set up human relations as an interest in his science course, a practice which we would encourage. Another point is that he made an experimental approach to pupil learnings, a thing that teachers seldom do. There was a pretest and an end-test, plus reasoning on what appears to have happened to attitudes and feelings. Now or later in their course, college students may want to study "before and after" test designing.

The final case in this section is excerpted from a 72-page report, so that our account is much condensed. The writer of the original was Miss Allison, the seventh-grade auditorium teacher at the Hibbard School. The case should be read, first, to get the

over-all situation in mind, after which the student should reflect on the conflict between Mr. A and Mr. S. The real problem is, we believe, to decide what the new superintendent of schools, Mr. J, should try to do.

Hibbard, a Divided School

A new board of education policy in respect to children with low IQs has had a shake-up effect on all city public schools. The situation at the Hibbard School, where I teach, is serious because of the setup under which we have been operating.

For over a decade, Hibbard has averaged more than two hundred slow-learning pupils, the "specials," as they are called. This is in addition to the regular school, the "upstairs school," of some six hundred junior high school students. Since the two groups are kept apart, what we have are two schools in the same building, or rather, a school within a school.

All the specials are boys, and they come from different parts of the city. They range in age from twelve to seventeen years, and in reading ability from the third grade to the eighth grade. They are from middle-class to lower-class homes, mainly the latter, and their interest is in the various divisions of industrial training, shops, crafts, and the like.

Until the change of policy last semester, the specials were organized as a separate school. The school occupied the basement at Hibbard, along with two upstairs rooms. It had its own courses of study, its own teachers, and its own principal, Mr. A. For example, the specials came earlier in the day than did the regular students, and their school day ended earlier, for a large number of them worked for pay. They had a different lunch hour and assembly time—for the few assemblies they had. They were not permitted upstairs, except to pass to and from classes. They had no PTA or mothers' club or room-parent organization. They had no athletic teams and very few activities.

Teachers in the two schools have always been polite to one another, and helpful to a degree, but have never socialized. They do not plan common school events or attend the same faculty meetings or visit very much. I guess my own case is fairly typical. I teach in the regular school and, aside from Mr. A, whom I have known for 20 years, I do not have a close friend in what our faculty calls "the low IQ teacher group."

Our present dilemma stems from the coming of Mr. J, the new superintendent of schools. Mr. J is an impressive man, a school administrator with years of successful experience. He did not, apparently, seek the post he holds. At any rate, it is said that he offered to come to us only on certain conditions. One of these was that the board abolish its substandard program for handicapped children, including the slow-learning pupils at Hibbard. This was agreed to by formal resolution, so that there is no doubt as to what present policy is.

I should say that Mr. J was appointed superintendent just this past June, and his new policy went into effect at the beginning of the present year. Under this policy, some of our specials have been transferred to other schools, but most of them have remained at Hibbard. Mr. A, their former principal, has been demoted; that is, he is now a teacher under Mr. S, the regular principal at Hibbard. The specials still concentrate on job training, but they also take some academic courses. Most of them are far below the average in academic interests and abilities, and teachers say frankly that they do not want these boys in their classes.

A little more background and then I shall come to the point. Mr. A, whom I have known and respected for many years, has told me that at first the specials were much pleased with the new arrangement. They were glad to get out of the basement, which marked them as inferior. They could wander about the building (not that this is permitted to any pupil), use the school library, attend school events, and mix with other students. All this was nice, but it also meant some trouble. For example, pupils who got lost were sent to Mr. S's office, and there was no predicting what he might say or do to them. I have seen him march these children down to Mr. A, mad enough at them (and A) to bite nails. Moreover, the specials got cold treatment in their classes from their peers and, I suspect, from their teachers.

It was inevitable that our unsettled state of affairs would come to a head, and it happened in my auditorium class. About a month ago, our group began to get ready for a big "fun-night" party. I had a note from Mr. A, asking if some of his boys could join us. I cannot say that my students showed any great enthusiasm for this, but they agreed. Several of A's boys were invited to serve on party committees, at which they seemed to do very well. As the two sets of students met in planning sessions, and with a little help on my part, friendships began to form. Shortly I had another note from Mr. A, telling me

that the specials would like to learn to dance. He gave up some of his homeroom time, and the boys met with my group for a few minutes each day. We worked as usual on dance skills [square dancing], party manners, dress, and grooming.

The very day before the fun-night party, the ax fell. Mr. S ordered that we cancel the affair. What is more, he came to the auditorium, which he never does, and reprimanded me for teaching the specials to dance. He accused me of "sneaking in" this instruction, which I certainly had not done. He called the specials "a gang of juvenile delinquents," which really made me mad. He implied that there must be something wrong with my morals, since I had been seen dancing with them. I reminded him that I was fifty-two, just 9 years his junior!

Mr. A also had to take a scorching, though he can hold his own with Mr. S. Anyway, A and I held a council of war. We decided to go over S's head, to put the facts before the superintendent.

We went to J's home that evening, and he listened to all we had to say. Although he left no doubt as to his concern, he made us no promise, except to state that he would see what could be done. What was done must have been adequate, for at noon on party day S phoned me. Parents had been invited, etc., etc., and the party could go on. "But you are to bear this in mind, you and Mr. A. If anything happens, anything at all, you two will be held accountable." As if we weren't fully aware of that!

Came the evening of the party and all but two of our "delinquents" showed up, scrubbed, brushed, and dressed in their Sunday best. The boys were scared, to be sure, ill at ease, awkward, but their conduct left nothing to be desired. After the activities got under way, everybody had fun.

I could see that Mr. A was very happy. He took part in a game or two and he capered about in a dance set. Poor man, his arthritis bothers him a lot and then, too, he is no longer young. When it came time to break up, he thanked me for the evening and his voice trembled. It seemed to me that he was on the verge of tears. This was, he said, what he had always wanted for his boys. Just to mix with their peers, to feel liked and accepted. He began to thank me again, for he repeats himself, so that I sent him along.

As the specials left the party, almost all of them came up to speak to me. "Gee, Miss Allison. Gee—" they would begin. "Gee, we had fun. We think the party was swell. We really do. When can we have another one?"

For the record, it should be said that this case is still much as Miss Allison reported it. That is, it has not been worked out. Thus, the questions for problem solvers is the exact nature of the mix-up, its causes, and how in theory to move toward a solution. On cases of this complexity, students will need the help of their instructor, the authors of their textbook, and perhaps resource persons outside the class who are experienced in solving HR problems.

One way to handle a problem of this sort is to assign it to a student team, perhaps at the time the chapter is assigned for class discussion. One team member can summarize the data in a case, the essential facts. Another member can tell what he judges the real issues to be. The third can project a solution, a plan of action which, if all went well, would establish the human relations needed and desired. If these study teams report to the class, the whole group can take part in the problem-solving exercise. There are, to be sure, many ways of working on cases, as we shall see. Nothing said in the text, however, should get in the way of student inventiveness, creativeness—whatever pushes a learner to do his best thinking.

In the Hibbard case, the central feature would appear to be the relations between Mr. S and Mr. A. S, the regular school principal, has never felt that the special students, the so-called low IQs, should be in *his* school. Moreover, he has expressed time and again his dislike for them, his mistrust of them in terms of morals, his conviction that they cannot learn, or cannot learn very much. On all this, he has clashed with Mr. A, formerly head of the special education unit and now demoted to a teacher of that group. This conflict has permeated the staff and, to a degree, the pupils. It has, in sum, divided the school, so that the present need is, in part, for an integrated school program.

To solve the Hibbard problem it would be necessary, we believe, to solve Mr. S and Mr. A. These men are old men, not old friends, but old battlers for their respective points of view. It is not at all easy to understand how they are related, a fact we soon discovered on visits to the school.

There are bitter feelings between S and A; in truth, the two have had several stormy sessions. There is also an intimacy, per-

haps even mutual esteem and affection. Each speaks of the other in the latter's absence with the respect one accords an opponent whom he calls a good competitor. In group meetings, their joking inter se is barbed, yet in their routine contacts they address each other by first names and at times with good-natured profanity such as men may use. Each man is very perceptive, very shrewd; and on occasion each has evaded group plans designed to resolve their differences and unite the faculty and the school.

It is very likely that Mr. J, the new superintendent, will be able to unlock the Hibbard dilemma. He is, as said in the case, new on the job and caught in urgent educational business. His intentions are to get better acquainted with the two men, the faculty, and the two kinds of students, after which, in his words, he will "give the Hibbard problem just and careful consideration."

NATURE OF HUMAN RELATIONS

Concrete cases get a course of study started but not much else. They do not provide a foundation on which to build, a frame of reference. We shall begin to work on this now and continue in the next chapter.

It is widely held that human relations is a problem, that aside from war (also human relations) there is no greater problem facing the nation. In so far as educators feel this truth, they are confronted with a number of what and why and how questions. They are one group among many, each seeking to understand human nature, to better human living. Their first task is to define the shape of their concern, to indicate where schools fit into the picture.

By *human relations* we shall mean, as the term suggests, *the interactions of people*, the many and varied contacts in which persons influence and are influenced by others. A schematic diagram (Figure 1) shows areas of theoretical interest, so many areas that a choice of emphasis must be made.

Figure 1 outlines contact areas—person to person, person to group, group to group, community to group, society to community, and so on. These interrelations of people might be classified in several ways—for instance, as to intimacy, duration, and

effects. The most immediate and professional concern of school personnel is with the kind of human relations regarded as a "problem."

What is meant by a problem in human relations? That is, how is the concept defined? Sociologists are noted for their work in the "social-problems" field. A study of their writings yields a

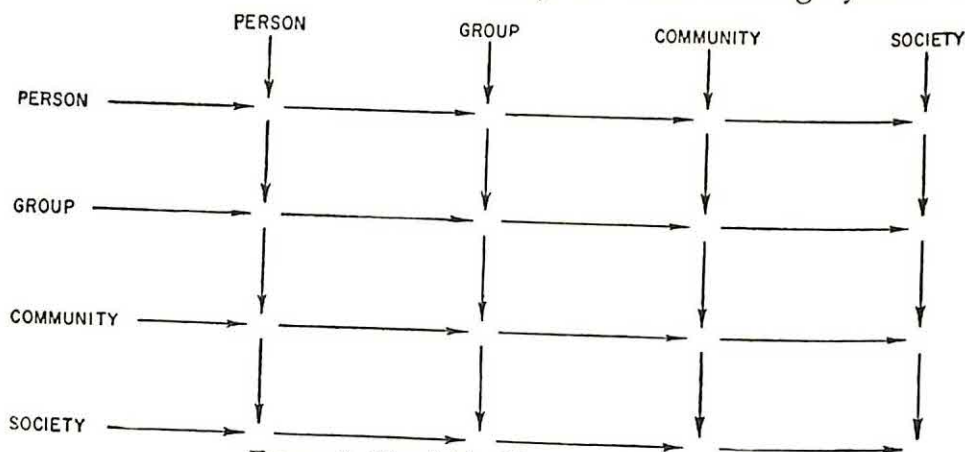


FIGURE 1. The field of human relations.

five-point definition which would find wide acceptance among authors of social-problems textbooks.

Nature of a Social Problem

1. A social problem is a situation about which persons feel that something should be done, some change action taken. Conditions appear to run counter to some real or ideal norm, thus to disadvantage persons in ways which seem hurtful, unjust, and unwanted.

2. Every social problem has an objective aspect, a state of being as defined in empirical evidence; and a subjective aspect, the feeling of lack, need, or want. While the external "out-there-ness" of the problem is important, it is the "insideness," the human feelings, which make a specific condition problematic.

3. Although there is probably no exact measure of the gravity of a given problem, there are indexes of its significance. Among these are the intensity of human feelings, the number of persons affected, trends of change over time, and the extent to which other issues depend upon this issue for their solution.

4. In planning action to solve the problem, the planners may disagree on the ends or goals to be achieved, or on the means to be

used, or on the conditions linked with action, such as costs, timing, and risks.

5. Values not only define problems but, very often, get in the way of problem solving. Persons may want a problem solved yet do nothing, or nothing much, to get action started, because other wants, needs, interests take priority in their value systems.

These points apply in the main to mass problems such as crime and vice—that is, to breakdowns of control or deviations from norms in our society as a whole. The issues in human relations of most concern to us are of lesser scope and much more personal, or interpersonal. Within these limits, the five points define the nature of the HR situations found in and about the schools.

In general, the definition of “problem” as given stresses the idea of *value conflict*. Thus it seems somewhat in contrast to a current view which conceives HR dilemmas as impairments in communication.² Certainly a problem may be due to a semantic difficulty, an inability to communicate, but it is often due to much more than that. Persons may understand one another fully; they may, in truth, exchange ideas amicably, yet each may elect to hold his own views. Socrates, for example, did not choose to escape when his jailers left the door open. “I have thought it better and more right,” he said, “to remain here and undergo my sentence.” He stood for a principle which he valued more than his life. An HR problem may be like this—that is, a clash in basic values, a conflicting outlook.

NEED FOR HUMAN RELATIONS EDUCATION

Should colleges and schools go more deeply into human relations education? Should they, in particular, do more and do better at teaching problem solving, the resolution of conflicts and mis-

² An example is N. F. Maier, *Principles of Human Relations*, Wiley, 1952, pp. 6ff. In addition to treating HR problems as issues in communication, Professor Maier rules out moral values. “The question of justice,” he writes, “is beside the point if we wish to seek to remedy a situation.” Is it really? It is instructive to take any of Maier’s industrial cases, for instance Joe (pp. 305ff.), and to see if the solution advocated as having “inventiveness and elegance” is also fair and just. To frame moral values as “assumptions” does not rule them out of critical thought. All in all, what teacher can support a solution of an HR problem unless that solution is regarded as just?

understandings? For our part, we do not see how these educational services can be avoided. Admittedly, the control of public education is in the hands of the public, so that the public will decide this question in the long run. Educators are not, however, powerless to take a stand, to declare their interest in educating for better human relations.

Are school people inept at dealing with HR issues? We suspect so, for they need specific and prolonged training. Are they busy with other things, say, with teaching subject matter? Indeed they are. The demands upon them are many and urgent. If attention is given to human relations, will that solve the critical problems of mass education—for instance, the increasing cost of schooling? Not at all. How to keep pace with population growth, to educate well, will still bedevil us. *Schools have to teach all that they have ever taught and much more besides.* Nonetheless, it seems imperative to find a place for human relations education, to put more stress on it.

If the fourth "R" is accented, will old-time subjects be thrown out? Not, we hope, if they are functional in child life. If any change is made in instructional practices, won't there be costs? Yes. The question is how public money should be spent, where priorities lie. Isn't HR education up to homes, to the churches, courts, youth groups, social settlements, civic agencies, police departments, and the like? Yes, it is a task for all. The ideal is a partnership, an education-centered community, where each institution does a share of the job.

These are among the questions one may be asked if he speaks to school and community groups on human relations education. Queries indicate public interest in the subject—a concern for mounting school costs; for the competence of teachers, school heads, and others; for a division of labor among area institutions. Our inclination in these discussions is to get off the defensive, to try to shift the burden of proof. At a time when social changes are so rapid and so radical, when the young lose contact with the traditions of their society, when so many of them become a problem to themselves and others, *what education is of most civic worth?* Lawrence K. Frank argues well on this point:³

³ Lawrence K. Frank, in *Child Study Magazine*, 1952, 29:4.

Instead of rearing children with the familiar teachings that emphasize institutions and impersonal rules, we can help them to realize that they are the social order; that what they do or fail to do, and what goals they seek, make social order what it is. In this way we may present to our children, and especially to adolescents, something more challenging and inspiring than the customary admonitions to be good, law-abiding citizens; to adjust to society, to conform to whatever exists. These teachings may have been adequate for a stable society, an intact culture, but they are worse than useless today.

It would be convenient now to assert a trend toward realistic human relations education, a vigorous forward movement, and to posit a lag on the part of schools that straggle behind. We know of little evidence to support any such inference. In our experience, many public schools are not unlike a batter who has hit a sizzling grounder into outfield. Is it a hit and can he make first? Or making first, shall he stretch his luck and try for second? Alert schools are like this. At even chances, they will dash for first. Some few, a widely scattered handful, have rounded second and are stealing third. Most schools, however, have a first strike on them and are awaiting the next pitch.

SCHOOLS AND THEIR BASIC ROLES

In the schools we know best, a concern for human relations does not replace grade and subject organization. It is, as a rule, fed into these frameworks. These schools are, first, warmly human places. Their climate tends to catch pupils, parents, teachers, and others; to get them acquainted, to involve them in conjoint projects. Second, prime stress is not put on learners as individuals, or on subject-matter mastery, or on community rebuilding. It is put on teaching and learning, the complex processes that schools were devised to conduct, to study and improve.

Third, there is usually no course marked human relations, yet the "subject" permeates much that the school is and does in its class and nonclass activities. The effort to understand peer mates and others as humans, to get along with them, to influence them, is found in subjects as far apart as civics and lab sciences, shop-work, homeroom, math, and dramatics. It is found in staff rela-

tions, in community services, and in the school's broad outlook on the world. The HR emphasis is strong in almost every newer core or integrated subject-area program.

Fourth, as school leaders show interest and ability, the school tends to become a partner of area institutions—homes, churches, civic groups, youth agencies, departments of government—in planning for better community life. Fifth, and very important, the school head is more than a clerk for the board of education, more even than business manager of the schools. Although his responsibilities include the latter function, he is becoming an active participant in area policy decisions on the health, welfare, and education of young (and older) people.

A good way to remember these details, and to include many other items, is to think of the big roles, functions, or services, which a growing number of school faculties have come to play in human relations work.

One school role is *preventive education*. By this is meant a continuing study of learners, their nature and needs, growth and development, in relation to self and other persons. It means also the effort to provide instruction and experience before human relations may become a conscious, persistent problem. Many school courses, study units, and nonclass pursuits will illustrate this type of schooling. Some will have more HR content than others, as is to be expected in view of the multiple aims of modern schooling.

A second role is *corrective education*. This is, in a sense, repair work on, with, and for people. It is a planful effort to teach the young—and those not so young—how to solve their own and other issues in human relations. This kind of teaching and learning differs from the smooth and even flow of routine instruction. It must be done, as a rule, under conditions which threaten to explode, to “snowball” into avalanches of difficulty. It has been our conviction for some years that colleges seldom give the kind of training needed for this, that a succession of HR courses is necessary, that graded “real-life” experiences should be central.

Another school role is to *aid area homes and agencies* in their child-rearing and educational functions. Schools can do a great deal more to strengthen family life, to advise and consult with

parents, than they do now. School staff members can contribute their professional know-how and know-why to youth-serving groups and agencies. They can provide a place for small and large groups to meet, offer them the use of school facilities. They can engage in adult education, extend their present programs. They can make their own public relations a significant two-way channel of communication, a solid tie with the community.

The school's fourth role is to put its own house in order, to *improve its internal human relations*. Unless one has taught school in the clatter of present big-city conditions, experienced the press of numbers on staff and facilities, he can scarcely appreciate the stress and strain on teachers. All things considered, these schools may be doing the best they can do. And yet, if the young are to learn good human relations, they must see them practiced. If teachers are to believe in democratic values, those values must be central in school life and administration. If parents—but there is no need to continue. A school should try to exemplify its human relations preachments.

Fifth, our persistent image of good school-community relations is that of people working together for the common good. Although this kind of action is traditional in our nation, it has fallen into disuse. The school's role is *to help restore the group planning function and to take active part in area policy making*, so far as policy affects young people.

To conclude, we had thought to write a book which would attend to all these school functions, but that proved impossible to do. Since choice had to be made, an emphasis selected, it seemed sensible to stress corrective education, to center on school problems and their solution. This, it seems to us, is the urgent need in teacher education so far as human relations are concerned, a need that applies with equal force to all professional school personnel.

Students' regular use of the suggestions in the text and of chapter projects, problems, and readings will add greatly to the worth of the book. The projects take the usual form of do this, do that, but it is assumed, needless to add, that students will clear with their instructor before engaging in any of these activities. The instructor, not the authors, is in charge of the course.

S.C.E.R.T., West Bengal

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PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Suppose that you are Mr. Troy, the school head, in the "Math or Else" case. Tell what you would probably do in order to understand the problem better and then to solve it. Would you work alone at this or involve the faculty? Why?

2. Do you like the custom of appointing class committees to do readings or to make studies and then to report to the class? If so, and if your instructor favors the procedure, organize teams of two or three students to read and report on several books related to the text. Consider references 2, 3, 4, 5, and 8 in the selected readings listed below.

3. Tell in your own words what you think a human relations problem is, how it can best be defined. Illustrate from your own experiences with people.

4. Do you like to take a broad view of things, to philosophize about our society, its changes and dilemmas? Read for yourself, or on assignment for your class, Walter Lippmann's *Essays in the Public Philosophy* (Little, Brown, 1955).

5. Do you ever find yourself talking with an author, agreeing or disagreeing with him? On pages 17-18, where we comment on questions asked about HR education, compare your views with those given.

6. Does your study group plan to use films, slides, and recordings in its work? If so, should a committee begin now to see what resources are available?

7. Have you ever thought about the loss of one's self in present-day mass living? If your instructor agrees, prepare a paper to hand in on your own struggle to preserve your self or to lose your self in your group memberships.

SELECTED READINGS

1. Ahrens, Maurice A.: "Secondary Education of the Future," *The School Review*, 1955, 60: 269-276.
2. Benne, K., and B. Muntyan (eds.): *Human Relations in Curriculum Change*, Dryden, 1951.
3. Brookover, Wilbur B.: *A Sociology of Education*, American Book, 1955.
4. Lane, Howard, and Mary Beauchamp: *Human Relations in Teaching*, Prentice-Hall, 1955.
5. Maier, Norman F.: *Principles of Human Relations*, Wiley, 1952.

6. Noar, Gertrude (ed.): *Current Problems and Issues in Human Relations Education*, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, New York, 1955.
7. "Research on Human Relations and Programs of Action," *Review of Educational Research*, 1953, 23: 285-385.
8. Stearns, Harry L.: *Community Relations and the Public Schools*, Prentice-Hall, 1955.
9. Wood, Margaret: *Paths of Loneliness*, Columbia University Press, 1953.

CHAPTER 2

The Practice of Problem Solving

Bloody instructions which, being sent, return
To plague the inventor. . . .

—SHAKESPEARE, *Macbeth*

Solving the real problems of real people is something one does out there, on the job—change action that gets results. In this sense, Chapter 2 is not well titled. Neither the students and instructor in a college classroom nor textbook authors at their writing desks are on the actual firing line. For them problem solving must be an exercise in logical thought, plus such try-outs of ideas as can be devised. Although this may not be ideal education, it is not bad. It makes learning an active process of reflection, a struggle to cope with situations rather than to memorize.

In this chapter, the interest is in three goals. First, since the approach to human relations is via concrete cases, these materials should be defined and classified. This will show where and how these data were obtained, and at best stimulate students to contribute cases of their own. Second, a bigger aim and more difficult, is to understand the main modes (or models) of problem solving: discussion, research, and what shall be called appropriate action. Third, if all goes well up to this point, there will be time to reflect on skill training, the basic need in almost every college course and workshop.

CASE MATERIALS

During the years 1946 to 1955, we collected some 5,500 school and community problems in human relations. The Hibbard School report in Chapter 1 is a good example of these cases. By *case* is meant a description of an HR problem, the antecedent history of the situation, the action taken or planned (if any) to study the issues and to resolve them, and the outcomes of change action so far as these effects are known. During five of these years our coverage of colleges of education and their local public schools was, although thin and scattered, national in scope.¹ The main exception was the Pacific Coast area, a part of the nation where we lived and traveled in the year 1954-1955.

About three-fifths of the 5,566 cases came in the form of written reports by school and college people, chiefly from school heads, classroom teachers, and university instructors. The other two-fifths, except for 106 cases taken from the literature, come from our own field work. These take the form of file notes, type-scripts, and recordings of jobs on which we have been engaged, and of similar data from persons whom we have advised. The 106 cases have been gleaned from readings—for example, the project described on pages 35-36.

All this material has been received in confidence and held in confidence, a guarantee made to our associates and contributors. Its use here and elsewhere is by permission and under safeguards to individuals and to institutions. Since some cases run to over a hundred pages, we have had to cut them down. We have shortened and sharpened materials. Names of places have been changed, that is, fictionized, save for a few big cities. In no instance have facts been distorted, repressed, slanted, or the like, and we have been particularly careful in handling attitudinal data. If errors have crept in, their occurrence does not mean that we have made no effort to exclude them, to deal fairly with the issues represented.

¹ Coverage made possible by the fact that the first author, as director of the College Study in Intergroup Relations, visited schools and colleges—and worked with a number—in all parts of the nation. This resulted in a two volume report, published by the American Council on Education, and more recently in a college textbook, Lloyd and Elaine Cook, *Intergroup Education*, McGraw-Hill, 1954.

How to classify these cases has been a problem. After trying several schemes, we have settled on a simple, convenient outline. This is shown in Table 1, along with the number of cases in each category.

No all-out effort has been made in Table 1 to avoid overlaps in categories, and not much study has been made of the data beyond a count. Terms carry a commonsense meaning, with an exception or two. The discussion of "first teaching" begins with some campus cases, stresses the work of student teachers, and

Table 1. A Classification of School and Community Problems in Human Relations

<i>Area of problems</i>	<i>Number of cases</i>
First teaching, the beginner.....	605
Room order, teaching method.....	793
Pupil deviants, the handicapped.....	468
Intergroup relations.....	569
Mass media, effects on pupils, school uses.....	415
Nonclass (extracurricular) activities.....	512
Home and school relations.....	752
Civic action (or area change) projects.....	310
School staff relations.....	658
Teacher's out-of-school life.....	218
Miscellaneous.....	266
Total.....	5,566

ends with the first year of regular service. The term "intergroup" is used in its current sense as including issues centering on race, creed, national origins, and social class.² A chapter will be given to each area in the table, save the last two.

A word should be said about the cases used in the present book. They have been selected according to three criteria. First, we have given preference to materials which, in classroom or workshop use, have tested out as "good" to "fair" in respect to their stimulus value to students, thus omitting cases marked "poor." Second, although most cases will interest all school people, our tendency has been to favor cases concerned with teachers and their problems. Third, issues in human relations appear to

² A critical canvass of principles and techniques of use in reducing racial and religious discrimination is J. P. Dean and A. Rosen, *A Manual of Intergroup Relations*, University of Chicago Press, 1955.

have two prime sources of origin—in the community and in the school. Without neglecting cases of the first kind, we have used more of the second kind.

All things considered, the cases to be studied seem normal in school business; at least they are nothing for anyone to get excited over. They are not data on which to generalize, to say that formal education is a failure, that public schools are no longer effective, that the young are going to the dogs. It must be remembered that many school heads, teachers, counselors, and others handle every day the types of situations presented in the book, that *a casebook focuses of necessity on exceptions to the rule*. It should be added, however, that a recognition of failure in good human relations is no invitation to experience it, much less to excuse it. Our aim is positive—namely, to strengthen the human side of education in and about the public schools.

PROBLEM SOLVING BY DISCUSSION

In their classroom thought, students tend to perceive a problem as a wholeness, a situation to be resolved. If they are left to themselves in their group work, habitual modes of feeling and action will be expressed. That is, individuals will behave much as they have learned to behave in the past. A major teacher task is to break this traditional mind-set, to alert the problem solver to the need to stop and think, to ponder this and that possibility. Presently, if our experience is reliable, a student group will evolve some version of a five-point study-action plan.

Model A: Steps in Small-group Discussion

1. What is the trouble? Describe it.
2. Who caused it? How was that?
3. What are the possible solutions?
4. Which course of action is best? Why?
5. How can change action be started? By whom? When? How can it be kept under control?

Problem solving by group discussion is, in substance, a scheme for managing talk, for keeping talk goal-directed. Step 1 in

Model A is a descriptive account of a situation, a situational analysis. The next step deals with interaction processes, including motives and feelings. The aim is to make sense out of what looks unclear, confusing, perhaps contradictory. The third step projects possible solutions, and the fourth compares them as to worth. The "best" solution, as we conceive it, implies moral values such as individual well-being and the common good; also operational values, notably efficiency and economy of action.

Without following the five-point outline too closely, let us apply it to the "Math or Else!" case given in Chapter 1.

On being invited by the superintendent to visit the Holten School, to assist in solving the problem at issue, the author did so on several occasions. He interviewed Mr. Troy and all but one staff member. The aim was to verify details as given in the written report and to get a first feel of things. Satisfied that Mr. X, the school-board member, was of special interest, we gathered data on him. Who was he? What was his history? Who were his close friends? What were his views on education? Was his attitude toward "plain math" genuine or a cover-up? Did he want to fire Mr. Troy, then employ another kind of superintendent; or was his intention to correct a weakness in the curriculum, to strengthen the school?

At the school itself, there was much of concern. Superintendent Troy felt that the eighth-grade teacher had been "foolish" to make the bet, that her services should be terminated as soon as possible. He felt strongly that Mr. X was "an old crank," that no one could talk education with him. He was much worried "as to what the board would do," the math curriculum it might "foist" upon the school. He felt that the problem was his, that the staff should not be asked to share in decision making. He felt, but not strongly, that his job was in danger.

Plainly, in the paragraphs above, the author has mixed two kinds of data. One is what took place inside his head, such as thoughts on Mr. X. The other is objective fact—for example, what Mr. Troy said. Not only is this manner of writing very space-consuming but it may be confusing to the student. Although it represents the way on-the-job problem solving really goes, we

shall not continue it. Rather let us tell what happened in the case, how the issue was "solved," if that word will ever do in human relations work with schools. The reader might take the author's role, try to figure out, in view of events, what went on in the latter's mind.

Within a short time, the Holten staff began to meet as a faculty. All of us began to study the situation, to exchange ideas as to its nature, its causes, and what could be done. Soon, as agreements developed, recommendations were made to Mr. Troy, who, while presiding over these discussions, kept his ideas to himself. Neither then nor later did the school head participate actively in group talk, except to veto items he regarded as "impractical." An example was a proposal, one that never quite got made, that we undertake a formal survey of public attitudes toward the Holten School. Mr. Troy felt that this proposal was much too risky, that it might cause further trouble.

Among the several suggestions to Mr. Troy, one received his full support. This was for a public relations program. The idea was that board members and citizens needed to know more about their schools, the curriculum, the staff, and pupil progress. Conversely, teachers needed to learn about the community, to get acquainted with leading citizens. This led to a series of exchange visits where, for example, businessmen would come to school and on a later day receive a visit from the school staff, perhaps at a luncheon meeting. These "get-acquainted" trips went well and, no doubt, did much good.

Off and on during the month in which this work was done, the author met and talked with Mr. X. He proved to be a crusty but sincere person, with a genuine interest in mathematics. These meetings led to a trip with Mr. X as a guest to a university, where he talked with the math faculty, a visit he repeated twice for himself. He came to believe, after much thought, that the way to handle the Holten problem was to set up a required course in "math for living" for senior boys.

It has taken this course only a short time to become a feature at the Holten High School. It has won support on all sides—from the board of education, parents, businessmen, students, and

others. Leading citizens, including Mr. X, serve as an advisory committee on the course. Businessmen have been invited to give lectures, and several of them take pride in offering employment to "math majors." Mr. X is happy about developments, although he does not regard the general curriculum as "strong enough" in its math work.

There is not much that is unique about this case. The general pattern of problem solving is commonplace. We have called it a *discussion technique*, although much more than discussion is involved. It is a model that students often follow more or less in their classroom talk.

Another model—and there are several—which depends in part on discussion has been labeled "conflict-episode analysis." This has been developed chiefly by the Center for Human Relations Studies at New York University. We shall shorten and adapt somewhat an outline prepared by H. H. Giles.

Model B: Conflict-episode Analysis

1. Title of case
2. Illustrations of conflict in an acute stage
3. History of the conflict
4. Diagnosis of the present situation
5. Treatment aims and procedures; other possibilities
6. Results to date
7. Conclusions from the case as to personality and group dynamics, action methods, unsolved questions

Let us consider this outline in relation to a case, thus clarifying its terms for later classroom use.³ We have in mind the kind of incident that can be found in almost any big-city press, a behavior widespread in slum-area schools.

Twenty Rooms Wrecked by Vandals

Twenty classrooms were found ripped apart by young vandals who broke into the Keating School. Frank Church, principal, offered a \$25 reward to any pupil who could identify the delinquents.

³ For an application (race conflict in a school), see Ernest O. Melby, *Administering Community Education*, Prentice-Hall, 1955, pp. 196-200.

Church described the act as pure vandalism. Windows in the doors of all the rooms were broken. Books and papers were scattered about, desks were overturned, decorations smeared and defaced. Ink was poured on the floors and over the furniture, and squirted on flags and plaques. Church said that the only thing stolen was a book of streetcar tickets in a teacher's desk. A hammer was reported to be the tool used to break and enter.

The principal stated that the school had been vandalized a number of times in the recent past. Only a month ago, vandals tore clocks off the walls and poured ink over a big hallway flag. Police are questioning kid gangs in the Keating neighborhood.

1. A case like this might be titled "Vandalism in the Keating School," or given broader scope as "Slum-area Delinquency Control."

2. The report of the case, like the news quote, should plunge the reader into the heart of the "episode." Other assaults on area schools, if any, should be described so that a comparative inquiry is possible.

3. History is a way of putting items into their backgrounds, obtaining perspective. Is there at the Keating School, at the police court, in newspaper files, a record of these assaults? If so, what does it show of significance?

4. How is this latest episode to be diagnosed? This is, apparently, gang action. What kid gangs exist in the area? What community conditions favor them—in truth, tend to create them? What is the Keating School like? Does its unrelatedness to life, its mass-education methods, cause frustrations in young people? Can a hypothesis be formulated, then subjected to check?

5. What are homes like in the Keating area? Parental attitudes toward school? Toward delinquency? What treatment agencies exist—for example, youth clubs and settlements? What are the views of the policeman on the beat, the juvenile court, church representatives? Is there, anywhere, a good example of delinquency prevention or control? Describe it. Could it be adapted to the Keating area? How? Who would take leadership in this movement?⁴

⁴ See for example, A. H. Cohen, *Delinquent Boys: Culture of the Gang*, Free Press, 1955.

6. What, if anything, has been done since the Keating episode? With what results up to the present time? What further action is planned? If nothing has been done, why not? Does the clash in values, spoken about earlier in defining the nature of a social problem, apply here? What do you think of offering a reward as a control device?

7. What conclusions can be drawn from the total situation as to personality dynamics—for instance, the motives of these boys in vandalizing the school? As to group dynamics, such as the forces for and against area-wide action? What really puzzling questions haven't you been able to figure out?

PROBLEM SOLVING BY RESEARCH

Although either Model A or B can be used solely to guide classroom discussion, both point toward empirical fact finding. There are, to be sure, various ways of designing research, but our canvass will be limited to two. The first, "action research," is highly favored by educators as a way of securing changes in school practices and policies. The case used to illustrate is from Corey, who no doubt worked with Mary Neel Smith and her junior high school staff.⁵

Model C: An Effort to Improve Teacher Meetings

Background. For several years, the Grove Junior High School of Denver, Colorado, has sought to improve teacher practices and curriculum content. Much of this work has been done in teacher-planning meetings on school time. Although results have been good, they have not been all that could be hoped for, and thus our resolve to try to improve these staff meetings by action research.

I. THE PROBLEMS

Difficulties felt. Teachers felt that many planning sessions were not worthwhile, that they got nowhere. Staff members assumed no re-

⁵ From Mary Neel Smith, in *The School Review*, 1952, 60: 142-150. Cited and commented on by Stephen M. Corey, *Action Research to Improve School Practices*, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1953, pp. 47-61. Our rewriting is a much condensed version of the original.

sponsibility for the success of meetings, the coordinator (an outsider) took too much responsibility, there was no assurance that group decisions would be carried out, and, in general, better group-work methods were needed.

Preliminary check. These were the views of some teachers, and the next step was to gather faculty reactions to them. All staff members were asked to respond to a check list of items as to how they felt about the meetings, whether the meetings were helpful, their participation in them, and whatever improvements were needed. Out of this survey came the decision to center the action research proper on the question of responsibility.

II. ACTION HYPOTHESES

Hypothesis 1. If the role of the coordinator is limited, then group members will take more responsibility for the conduct of meetings and for outcomes. Role functions were defined as clarifying ideas, raising questions, reflecting member concerns, calling attention to resources, and suggesting better group-work methods.

Hypothesis 2. If the agenda of meetings are planned in cooperation, and if a record is kept of decisions made, followed by a check to see if they have been carried out, then planning meetings will be more worthwhile to teachers.

III. TESTING HYPOTHESIS 1

Study design. In view of the coordinator's limited role, what kinds of data will show whether teachers take more responsibility for group activities and outcomes? Where can these data be found, in what form, and how collected? Should study instruments, such as a questionnaire, be prepared and given? Since these questions are answered, more or less, in the study findings, we shall turn to the evidence.

Research findings. One type of data came from minutes of planning meetings. A full-page table in the original report shows quite a jump in teacher participation, i.e., from 99 instances in one semester to 171 in the next semester, with 164 in the third. Although this finding tended to confirm the hypothesis, on other indexes (suggesting agenda items, proposals for action, offering to do work, completing work undertaken) there was no appreciable increase in teacher participation.

Another type of data came from an evaluation questionnaire, administered at three periods over the calendar year. Results are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Teacher Reactions to Planning Meetings

Statement	Weighted responses*		
	February, 1950	June, 1950	February, 1951
1. I felt that my ideas counted.....	2.5	2.8	2.3
2. We all seemed to assume responsibility for the success of the meetings.....	2.7	2.7	2.8
3. I believe my time was wasted.....	3.0	2.8	2.5
4. We discussed things that were important to me.....	2.5	2.3	2.5
5. One or two persons seemed to dominate...	2.0	2.5	2.5
6. I felt that I was an active member of the group.....	2.5	3.0	2.8
7. I tended to withdraw from the group....	2.3	2.3	2.7
8. We had the impression that we were accomplishing the things we set out to do....	2.8	2.7	2.5
9. I volunteered to do work for the group....	2.5	2.4	2.0
10. We carried out our decisions.....	2.5	2.5	2.7

* Responses judged most favorable were weighted at 3, somewhat favorable at 2, and least favorable at 1.

IV. TESTING HYPOTHESIS 2

Since this hypothesis was tested by much the same data collected for the first one, we shall cite only the table in evidence.

Over half the responses in Table 2 were judged favorable to the proposition under test, that is, that meetings were more worthwhile to the teachers. Item 9 is interesting. Whereas the table shows that there were more teachers who did not volunteer to do work for the group or who volunteered less frequently, the minutes of staff meetings show that more teachers did actually volunteer—and do—group work!

V. GENERALIZATIONS

Our conclusion is that the study made by the teachers of their planning meetings was most helpful in improving these meetings. Staff members assumed more responsibility. They became more concerned in finding better ways of working together. Impulses generated in the "action-research" study spread into other faculty and student groups in the school and affected their activities.

Although few studies of this kind are above criticism, this one strikes us as very good. The essential point about action research is that the persons who take part in it are the ones who need to do their work better, so that the study process itself, rather than the formal findings, is likely to be the effective change agent, if change does result. Change is, we believe, more likely to result because of involvement in the group process. As a rule, the participants, not the outside researcher who is called in to do a study job, are the ones in a position to make the change.

The next model shows a technical approach to problem solving, that of research consultants acting as predictive scientists. The case tells how a team of social scientists aided the armed forces in solving a complex problem toward the end of the Hitlerian war.⁶

Model D: On Getting the Boys Home

The attempt of the Research Branch of the Army to find an acceptable method of discharging soldiers after the surrender of the Germans can be used as a typical example of social science prediction.

The problem was as follows: It was expected that the Germans would surrender before the Japanese and that the war against Japan could be conducted with a smaller army. If the troops got the impression that the system of redeployment and return to civilian life was unfair or subject to favoritism, the morale of the Army would suffer. There might even be danger of a mutiny, which did take place in a unit of our allies where the men thought they were unfairly treated.

The system of return by units would have been grossly unfair to a great number of men, because the units which had been longest at the front contained the most replacements, many of whom had been in uniform only a relatively short time. These men could not in fairness be given preference over the men who had been in combat in the Army for many months.

Foreseeing that this problem might arise, the Research Branch had made an incentive study of attitudes toward discharge among selected samples of troops in camps at home and on all types of duty

⁶ From Frederick Osborn, "The Social Sciences in the Service of Man," in *The Social Sciences at Mid-Century*, Social Science Research Center of the Graduate School, University of Minnesota Press, 1952, pp. 4-6. Shortened somewhat and used by permission.

overseas. They found out the relative weight given by the men in the Army as a whole to various factors which would seem to entitle a man to priority. It was evident that no system of discharge would satisfy everyone; however the men's preferences were followed, there would still be 10 per cent or more who would think the system unfair. But by weighting the different factors involved, it would be possible to devise a system of points earned by each man which apparently would decide the order of discharge to the satisfaction of the greatest possible number of men, and hence with the least injury to morale.

Such a system of point discharge was presented to the Special Planning Division of the War Department General Staff, with full supporting data. With a few changes, the system was approved for use when the Germans surrendered. After it had been put into operation, the Research Branch made studies to find out how well it was accepted in the Army. The predictions on which it had been based were found to be closely upheld in practice. Approximately the expected number of men were dissatisfied from the start. The proportion of dissatisfaction increased as fewer men were left in the Army. By November, 1945, 42 per cent of those who were left felt that the plan was either "not so good" or "not good at all." However, even among these men there was practically no criticism to the effect that there had been partiality or favoritism.

When a great number of criticisms reached Congress, as was inevitable in so controversial a matter, Congress was disturbed and queried the Army. But when the congressional committee was shown the data on which the plan was based, and the studies of its acceptance before and after it went into effect, congressional objections almost entirely subsided. With respect to the morale of the Army, the fact that the opinions of the men themselves had been taken into account seems to have been an important factor in their acceptance of the plan. Almost all the men's criticisms were directed at the way the plan was carried out, not at the plan itself.

This is, indeed, science in the service of man, science used to better human relations. The problem was to devise a plan for the discharge of Army troops, to have the plan ready when conditions warranted its use. Among other things, the plan had to be fair and equitable, the risk being the loss of combat morale. The work task fell to research consultants, whose procedures need not be restated. This is an example of "operations research," the aim being to provide a basis for an important policy decision.

Model D, or to speak more clearly, research at this high level, will not appear often in this book. It is good for students to know about and to use, particularly in their dissertation work. School administrators use the model in their prediction inquiries, such as studies of population trends and of changes in public opinion. It is a valued tool of research in the research divisions of larger schools and school systems.

TAKING APPROPRIATE ACTION

The most common way of solving human relations problems is what classroom teachers call "appropriate action." This may involve no formal research, and little or no discussion. For example, a commander who is leading men into battle need not shout at them to get them going. He may simply move ahead and they will follow, for his act is motivational, a signal as to intentions. So with teachers and school heads. A smile may do the trick, a frown, an arched eyebrow, a body stance.

When is action appropriate? One is inclined to say, when it gets predicted and desired results under conditions previously specified and accepted. Obviously, the term "appropriate" can only be validated *after* the act; it is therefore a judgment passed on consequences. The term that refers ahead—the basis of all predictive science—is *probability*. Needless to add, thought centers on risk calculation, which is in final analysis the heart of successful problem solving.

Many cases in Part Two are presented as if the action taken by case reporters was appropriate. Whether or not students agree, and what actions they consider better, should be explored fully and with care.

SKILL TRAINING IN HUMAN RELATIONS WORK

One more goal remains for the chapter, a significant one. Wherever we have observed HR education—in schools, colleges, industry, or anywhere else—its great weakness in our opinion has been its inability to give skill training in the management

of action processes. Exceptions in workshops' do not disprove the rule. Admittedly, practical skill training is very hard to provide.

Skill training does not mean teaching the tricks of the trade, that is, passing on simple but useful work skills that can be picked up on the job, though this is done in many teacher-education classes. What it does mean is training students in the efficient use of basic tools and techniques for (1) relating the individual to other individuals and (2) using the group to educate its members. Much of what we seek to say, but by no means all, is expressed in the phrase *group-centered leadership*.

A group leader's skills are many and varied, and no one short case can show very much. We shall take a problem posed by a fourth-grade teacher, that of establishing a policy for the use of a new school gymnasium. The aim is to suggest how cases in the book can be used to give skill training.

Organizing a Gym Program

The Tyler Grade School is located in a suburb of Cleveland, Ohio, a factory-worker community. The school is less than 2 years old, and this year is the first time we have had a principal. The latest addition to the school is a gymnasium, which is also used as the auditorium. Our problem now is to establish a policy for using the gym; that is, for holding gym classes, for using the showers, for different kinds of activities, etc. I should add that grades run from first to fifth.

Let us interrupt this now, and from time to time, for comment. The preceding section establishes the teachers' concern, the need for gym policy. How will this policy be set up? What is a good procedure? If a student begins an answer, we may ask him to hold his thought for a moment, to come up front. We ask the person to imagine that he (or she) is the Tyler principal, that we, the class, are the Tyler faculty. "Now, show us, don't tell us, just how as a school leader you would go about setting up a gym policy."

The class accepts its role, with members behaving as they imagine the Tyler faculty would behave, and the school leader

¹ An example is Ronald Lippitt, *Training in Community Relations*, Harper, 1949.

works out his plan. Enough of the scene is played until its meaning seems clear, at which point the process is stopped and the group analyzes the procedure. Other students will want to present their ideas of how gym policy should be made, so that the scene will be reenacted.

This is *sociodrama*, at least the ABC of it. In this example, roles are developed on the spot, ad-libbed. They can, of course, be roughed out in conference, as we shall see later, but scenes should not be done from a script, for with a script they tend to lose their chief value, their spontaneity. It is important that review and criticism be well mannered, that role takers be given opportunity to tell what they had in mind, why they said or did so and so.

To continue the case:

Our procedure was to call a faculty meeting. Mrs. Heimbaugh [principal] called a meeting after school of the classroom teachers, the gym teacher, and the part-time school nurse. We spent an hour, over an hour, in going over the problem, just the points that a gym policy should cover.

What points should be covered? A college class might like to organize a panel discussion on this, or might invite a physical-education major or an outside resource person to address the group. Another way to handle the question would be to break into small teams, say, a 4-6 plan (four students talking together for 6 minutes), with one member of each team reporting to the class.

Mrs. Ander, the case writer, notes next that "it was decided to have a meeting of the parents. I was asked by Mrs. Heimbaugh to draft a letter inviting the parents and explaining why we need their help."

Writing this letter, its form, content, and tone, is a bit of a problem. What should go into the letter? How should items be phrased? Such questions raise a big issue, that of school-to-home—and other—communications. To many school heads, this is a No. 1 problem area. The matter might well be studied by a research team, with a report to the class later on. Team members

could interview principals, teachers, and others, and gather samples of materials to analyze.

If a student group wished to, it could assign the job of writing the Tyler letter to a committee of the class. The letter could be duplicated, then passed out for review, and afterward probably revised. This would be an opportune moment to invite in a public relations officer of the college to speak on the art of effective communication. The college dean could also give good advice.

I was asked to put five points in the letter and to ask parents to think about them ahead of our meeting:

1. What special clothing, if any, should be required for boys and girls in their gym classes?
2. Should our main emphasis in these classes be on sports, such as basketball, or on group games and dances, or on calisthenics?
3. Should the children be required to take a shower after their gym period even though they must hurry away to their classes?
4. Is it right for Miss Hiatt, our gym teacher, to supervise boys in their shower room? If this is not appropriate, how can this problem be handled, since the school cannot afford to hire another teacher?
5. Will parents pay the costs of a towel rental service? If not, is there some other way to pay for towels? There is no money in the school budget for this.

The meeting with parents was set for a Wednesday afternoon at four o'clock, with Mrs. Heimbaugh in charge. How did the principal conduct this meeting? Did she open with words of welcome? Too many, too few? Too formal? Was she confident, at ease, likable, convincing? How were the five points handled? Did parents speak up, take part in discussion? Did staff members participate? If decisions were made, was that done by voting or consensus? Were refreshments served afterwards, and could teachers really visit with parents, talk with them informally? To get the most out of a public meeting is, obviously, an integral part of the school leader's skill training in human relations.

It is hard to formulate rules for conducting good sociodrama. The technique is so variable, so adaptive, that rules can apply only to specified situations. In the model to follow, we have in mind a classroom or workshop problem-solving group, one where cases in Part Two might be used.

Rules for Sociodrama

1. Begin with a discussion of the area in which problems of interest fall. Encourage group members to give brief, concrete examples, and record these situations by title on a blackboard.
2. Explain briefly the idea of role playing. Select perhaps three or four individuals who you judge will do well at role taking and ask them to go out of the room. Explain to them that the group needs a few minutes to discuss its part in the sociodrama.
3. Select a problem given or a case of your own. Suppose a supervising teacher is having trouble with a student teacher assigned to her. The student's name, let us say, is Miss Hunter; the supervisor is Mr. Stearns. Miss Hunter will not accept guidance in her teaching, or breaks school rules, or is too lax with children. Go into detail on this until you feel the case is understood. Ask the group if the problem is clear, if there are any questions.
4. Select a member of the group to take the part of Miss Hunter. Explain one way in which Mr. Stearns might play his role. For example, he could "tell off" the student teacher, order her to change her behavior. Ask the group to name other approaches the supervisor might make.
5. Arrange the place of interview—table, chairs, whatever is needed. Call in one of persons who has been waiting outside. Explain the situation to him. He is Mr. Stearns, a supervising teacher. He has been having trouble with Miss Hunter, and so on. He has decided that something must be done, the problem must be solved. Make sure he understands; then start the action. "Very well, Mr. Stearns. You are in your classroom after class, and you have asked Miss Hunter to come in. Here is Miss Hunter now." She walks in. "Did you want to talk with me, Mr. Stearns?"
6. If the interview ends itself, fine; if not, decide when to end it. Take another person from outside, brief him, and repeat the interview after having shifted the student-teacher role to some other group member. Participants, as they conclude their work, take seats in the classroom.
7. To conclude the meeting, review with the group what has happened—that is, the way roles have been played. See if the group can agree on a preferred way of handling the problem. If so, select some person who has not yet played any role and invite him to act this preferred part. Let the instructor take the role of the student teacher and, if he wishes, complicate the scene as a final test.

8. Discuss, in terms of basic theory, the worth of role taking as a leader-training, problem-solving technique.

To conclude, students who are accustomed to studying about problems rather than trying to solve them may have initial trouble as problem solvers. They may say that classwork is not science, not "objective," and in this they are usually correct. What the course of study is is life. In life, people do not just study issues, keep aloof and uninvolved. After getting what facts they can, they must make up their minds. They act on problems, try to resolve them. They make decisions and take the responsibility this implies. So with school personnel, and hence the orientation of the present textbook.

Another thought comes to mind. The more students feel that they are solving problems for themselves, with the instructor and authors giving no special help, the greater their sense of growth and achievement. We count this a highly desirable learning outcome, a long step in one's professional development. In theory, the best class is the class that assumes an increasing responsibility for its own education, a group that takes over, so far as practical, the instructional job.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Set up a class committee to study the case-study method of instruction. If time permits, cover several areas outside education, such as law, medicine, social work, and industrial relations. Why is so little use made of this method in the education of school heads and teachers?

2. Do you remember Mr. X in the "Math or Else!" case? Imagine yourself in the role of consultant to the Holten superintendent. Write a paper reporting your first interview with Mr. X.

3. Read and report on in class, if your instructor likes the idea, S. M. Corey's *Action Research to Improve School Practices* (Teachers College, Columbia University, 1953). Is the author right in his criticism of traditional research? What are the merits of "action research" as you understand it?

4. Which do you like better as a scheme for analyzing human relations cases, Model A or B? Select one of these and use it to analyze

a case from your experience or from Part Two of this textbook. Prepare this paper to hand in.

5. Try out in class, in a sociodrama of your own devising, our eight rules for role playing. What do you consider the main advantages and limitations of this method of skill training?

6. Have you thought much about the use—and misuse—of words in relating yourself to people? Summarize for the class the most interesting points made by Stuart Chase in *The Power of Words* (Harcourt, Brace, 1954).

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CHAPTER 3

Determining Human Relations Course Objectives

Education does not mean teaching people to know what they do not know . . . but to behave as they do not behave.

—JOHN RUSKIN

There are two prime ways of conducting a training program in human relations education. One way is to tell students how the work is planned, what they are to do, the results expected of them. In this scheme, the course of study belongs to the instructor. He is the authority; he is responsible. The other way is just the opposite. Its classic figure is the schoolmarm who meets her class with the query: "Well, children, what do we do today?" This is, for sure, a caricature of progressive education. Between these two procedures there is a middle ground, a matter of *planning within a plan*. This is a joint effort by students, teacher, and authors to structure a work situation so that it will yield optimal returns in learning outcomes.

What kinds of learnings are wanted in an HR course? What do students want? What does the instructor want? How do they go about making these decisions and then implementing them? An author cannot answer these questions for any classroom group, but he can contribute to their answer. Let us begin with a word on the course-planning process, next deal at some length with the kinds of learning outcomes which a large number of HR classes have worked out, and then speak briefly of the need to

agree on a way of testing what students have learned. In concluding, we shall review Part One.

A THEORY OF COURSE PLANNING

For over a decade a theory of student-teacher planning has been well known to educators and, to an extent, in general use. Its origin is credited to Tyler,¹ who did much to give it form and content. Our concern here is not to detail this elaborate procedure but rather to select a few ideas for emphasis, enough to orient a classroom planning group.

Course-planning Tasks

1. Define course aims in terms of the kinds of changes wanted in learner behaviors, changes in understandings, skills, whatever the outcomes desired.
2. Identify the types of experiences (readings, field trips, area study, practice sessions in problem solving) in which individuals can be expected to show these new behaviors.
3. Try out these ways of learning under a plan, agreed upon in advance, for evaluating their effects; reteach whatever has not been taught or taught well. Keep the teaching process centered on individual and group needs.
4. Remember that the kinds of learnings wanted most in human relations cannot be motivated by fear or threat or undue anxiety. For changes in the "insideness" of persons, the classroom climate should be kept cooperative and permissive.
5. Variability, novelty, and creativeness in teaching, are conducive to high group morale. This means, for one thing, the wide use of available resources, rather than complete dependence on a textbook.

THE BVKSJ COMPLEX

How do students, under guidance, evolve a set of specific course aims? In our classes, the usual start is from a BVKSJ cluster of potential learning outcomes, the kinds of goals which a good

¹ See, for example, Ralph Tyler, *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction*, University of Chicago Press, 1950.

many student groups have helped to define and to pursue. After class study and debate, the five areas of learning listed below are commonly accepted as a basic framework within which to plan and to think.

A Frame of Reference for Course Planning

1. *B—beliefs*. Ideas about people, ways of viewing them, which are felt to be true yet not proved, perhaps unprovable. Faiths by which one lives—for example, that life is good, that effort is worthwhile, that most persons want to improve, that group action can be effective, that intelligence counts.

2. *V—values*. The wants, likes, needs of people; their rights, interests, and sensibilities. How one personally values people, his feelings about them; how he values democracy as a way of life, the public interest, the school leader's moral code.

3. *K—knowledge*. What is known about people, group action, human relations, from research and experience. The facts, concepts, and principles of the behavioral sciences; understandings proved or subject to proof.

4. *S—skills*. How people act, what they do. Use of tools and techniques in problem solving. Study skills and guidance skills; management of the teaching and learning process. Arts implicit in the teacher-leader role.

5. *J—judgment*. Good sense in the use of all the foregoing elements in working on a concrete problem, the decision-making function. Ability to diagnose a situation, to calculate the risks of change action, to correct mistakes as they appear.

This list seeks a wide coverage, as broad an outlook as possible; thus its terms are vague. The problem students are asked to face is how to make the five categories precise, to plan the content desired in an HR course. How this was done, in a specific instance, can be seen in a concrete case.

GROUP PLANNING, AN EXAMPLE

In the example to be given, the class spent a very busy first period in discussing the preceding BVKSJ list. As students began to make specific suggestions about course aims, a student re-

corder took notes. Instead of carrying over this task to the next class period, students were asked to write out and hand in their ideas, so that every person could have his say. A committee was appointed to study these data, to eliminate duplications in proposals, and to compile a final list of items.

The following case reviews this procedure and then presents a list of goals which the class adopted by vote. The case writer is the chairman of the class committee. She is addressing the class.

Course Aims, a Committee Report

At the time the committee was appointed, we were given the papers written by class members. These papers on course aims ranged from a page to one or two papers of about five pages in length.

First, each committee member scanned all these reports. Each of us then took six papers, read them carefully, abstracting the writer's statements as to the kinds of learnings he hoped to achieve. Following this part of our work, we searched through ten books that had "human relations" in their titles, and collected the authors' statements of objectives in human relations work. Third, we met as a group to classify our data and to put all items in the form of a check list to be given to the class. Each item was to be marked as very important, important, or not important, from the standpoint of the student. This list, as you will recall, was filled in by class members a week ago. The vote on all 72 items will be found in an appendix to this report [not included].

We are ready now to make a report to the class as to what the aims of our course should be. Our proposal, although based on class vote, is not confined to the items which got the highest vote. That is, we have felt it desirable to get some balance in course aims. For example, the committee has put a little less stress on knowledge items and more stress on skills in HR work. It is in skills, more often than in understandings, in our opinion, that most persons in school positions are weak. It is fair to tell you this in case you may wish to amend the committee report.

To get the report before the class for discussion, I move its adoption. You understand, I am sure, before we begin the debate, that our thinking is tentative at this point in course work. The class will, no doubt, add to the list, and take items out of it, as we get deeper into the semester's work.

*Proposed Course Aims**Values²*

1. Faith in democracy, in the fair and just treatment of all persons
2. Cooperative action as a way of solving problems, use of intelligence
3. Respect for the right of an individual or a minority to differ with the group, without penalty or censure
4. Belief in public education, in school and community planning for the improvement of schools and communities
5. A deep concern for and faith in young people, a conviction that they want to do better in their group relations
6. The worth of teaching as a trusted profession, the NEA's code of ethical conduct for teachers
7. A willingness to take an active part in classroom work, to accept responsibility

² *Authors' note:* The committee felt that beliefs and values meant much the same thing, so that the two are merged.

Skills

1. To learn how to analyze complex issues in human relations, to get at underlying causes
2. To learn how to design studies, to find facts, to process data, and to write reports
3. To get along with people, to like and be liked by them, to control my talk and feelings in times of stress, to have respect for the person I am
4. To learn how to manage group tensions, to guide people as they move toward common understandings and just conflict resolutions
5. To do youth counseling and guidance, along with my regular class teaching
6. To supervise the work of others, with benefits to them in their developments
7. To learn how to learn in all that I do, to keep learning as a central goal of my life

Knowledges

1. To understand the problems in human relations which the schools now face
2. To study the trends in our national life, including community changes, which seem to cause these problems

Judgments

1. To learn what kind of school position, i.e., teacher, administrator, etc., I am best fitted for
2. To think up alternative courses of action, predict action outcomes, calculate foreseeable risks and costs

Knowledges

3. To understand the meaning of a "problem" in logical terms, i.e., its interrelated elements
4. To increase my knowledge of groups, their structure, processes, and characteristics
5. To study child personality in its social and psychological aspects, to see how individual and group problems arise in life
6. To understand group leadership in classwork, in community action, and in democratic school administration

Judgments

3. To improve my ability to make decisions which will meet logical, moral, and other criteria
4. To gauge individual and group morale, readiness for action, action potentials, and the like
5. To give due weight to the irrational in human life, to remember that people tend to act in terms of feelings
6. To face failure on my part without undue anxiety, to study my failures and try to correct my mistakes

With few changes, this was the statement of objectives which the class, after a businesslike debate, voted to accept. Was this work worth the time and energy it took? Opinions will differ, and opinions as they deepen will express at last how persons view education, what they conceive it to be. We are back now to the paragraph with which the chapter opened—namely, to two concepts of what a good course of study is, how to conduct it.

Our judgment is that these students had picked up a good many words and phrases which, at the time, must have had a meager meaning for them. Second, the goals they specify are, for the most part, much too broad to be achieved in any basic sense in a semester course. This need not be counted as bad, for most course aims are ideals which can only be approximated. It was Carl Schurz, a great American of foreign birth, who said: "Ideals are like the stars. We never reach them but, like the mariner at sea, we guide our course on them."

The main thing about any planning process is that it not only *shows what students are interested in but also energizes a group*, sets it in motion on a mission of consequence to members. Moreover, by the act of *indicating directions in which they wish to move*, students make a *commitment of great importance*. They say, in effect, that these are *learnings for which they will work*.

This is, it seems to us, as good a motivation as an instructor has any right to expect.

APPLICATION TO CASES

Although the BVKSJ complex is not a tool of problem solving, not a model such as those given in Chapter 2, some such scheme should be made a fixed point of reference in case study and use. Let us illustrate in this section how that might be done, admitting once again that classroom practices will vary, that variation is all to the good if it enhances student interest and creativity.

The reporter of the episode described below is a college sophomore, a girl who plans to enter art education. Her work with children is part of a university program to provide beginning students a year of experience in serving young people in nonschool situations, after which students major in their chosen field.

Making Doll Cutouts

At this social settlement, all the groups are mixed white and Negro, and there may be some Mexicans or others. I had a group of 14 girls, differing in age but all at about the fourth-grade level in school. All were colored except four white girls. Skin shades of the Negroes varied from very light through brown to black, or dark, whichever I should say.

I found these girls very interesting and liked to work with them until I had the trouble I shall tell about. I still do not believe that I was to blame, although Mr. Szbalski may think so. I am not quite sure what he thinks, not that this really matters, for I am now in a much nicer situation, a church youth group.

Anyway, the settlement children wanted to give a party for their mothers, which I though was very nice. We were at work on table decorations when it occurred to me that group members might like to make cutout doll figures to be used at the tables as place cards. I forgot to say that we planned to have some refreshments after a short program. When some girl asked what color we would make the doll figures, I replied, without even thinking, "Why, make them our individual complexions. Wouldn't that be nice?" All agreed that it would. I bought three kinds of heavy paper—white, brown, and dark—and each girl selected her own matching color. I thought no more

about this, though I should have, for this was what led to a very embarrassing moment for me.

This was my first party with mothers, and I was nervous, but it went off very well. The girls did stunts and sang songs, after which we found our seats at the several small tables. Mr. Szbalski, the settlement director, was to come in and make a speech welcoming the mothers, but I guess his work prevented him from doing this or else he just forgot it.

We were about to conclude with refreshments when I noticed a mother pick up a cutout figure. She looked at it, then showed it to the lady seated across from her. The two appeared to be puzzled about it, to be talking it over, and I could not imagine why. Presently this first mother, Mrs. B, left her seat and walked over to where her daughter sat. She picked up Denise's cutout, then spoke sharply to her about it. She called out to me, asking that I come over to her.

Mrs. B pointed to the doll figure and asked what it was. I explained it to her, stating that the children had made the figures as table decorations. There was a long silence, with the mother staring at the cutout. Just to say something, I added that each child had chosen paper to match her skin color, which I guess was quite the wrong thing for me to say. Mrs. B got very mad, so mad her eyes flashed and she began to tremble. She said she knew that, but that her daughter's color was not dark. Denise had joined some children, and I called her to come to us.

"Denise," I said, "I wonder if we have made a mistake. Here, let me match this cutout with your skin color." This was a silly thing to do, for the paper was black and the child was black, as black as the ace of spades! At this, Mrs. B really hit the ceiling. She told me in a burst of words that I wasn't very bright, that I was not fit to have Negro children in my charge. She took her youngster by the arm and marched her out the door.

All this attracted attention, breaking up the party very fast. Another mother started home with her daughter, then came back to say, "You're prejudiced. We won't have biggity whites running this settlement." I just stood there, not knowing what to say. The other mothers took their children and went out, without a word to me.

To this day, I do not know why these women got so mad at me. . . .

Someone, my guess is Mrs. B, told Mr. Szbalski. He called me in the next day and asked about the party. I told him the story just as I have written it, and he did not make any comment. He asked about my family in Grosse Pointe and why I wanted to become a school-

teacher. He told me about this church youth group, the one I am now with, and he suggested that I should get some experience there. Although I do not know him—that is, I never got acquainted with him—he seems to be quite nice.

The young are young, fortunately, and they have time to learn. Is there any doubt about this girl's *judgment* being bad, her skill in getting on with sensitive people conspicuously absent? Where does the causal factor lie? Is the girl "prejudiced," meaning that she has an anti-Negro bias? If so, then values are involved. Or was the fault simply that of ignorance, a lack of knowledge? In talking with the student, it became quite clear to us that she knew very little about Negro Americans. She had never heard or read about the significance of skin color and the way it may become linked with status.

What *knowledge*s bear on a problem of this kind? It has long been known that American Negro children and adults tend to value light skin color and to impress this value on the young.³ There are exceptions—in truth, we believe, an increasing number of them—yet the rule still holds. Seeman's⁴ study of Negro third and fourth graders is to the point. He found, first, "a state of ambivalence"; that is, the children had not as yet absorbed much of the color consciousness of older persons. Second, he found some influence of color in the behaviors and associations of the pupils. "Preferential ratings tended to go to the lighter-skinned persons, often in a more or less subconscious way."

What *values* would apply to the case? Is "democratic" applicable here, the fair and just treatment of all persons? The public interest, the common good, is clearly at issue. Did this girl act as a member of "a trusted profession," a teacher in whom parents have confidence? What is most relevant, perhaps, is a concern for people, their sensitiveness to "self" concepts.

What *skills* apply to the case? The committee list is full of them—for example, No. 3, "to get along with people; to like and be liked by them." At times our classes take the case at the point where we are told, "Mrs. B got very mad, so mad her eyes flashed

³ For example, W. Lloyd Warner et al., *Color and Human Nature*, American Council on Education, 1941.

⁴ Melvin Seeman, "Skin Color Values in Three All-Negro School Classes," *American Sociological Review*, 1946, 11: 315-321.

and she began to tremble." Students like to demonstrate in role-playing sessions what they believe to be ways of working with irate parents, even though feelings of such intensity are always hard to simulate.

Good *judgment* is crucial in this case, as in most human relations. If risks are to be "calculated," they must of course be foreseen. This student was taken unaware. Everyone knows how painful it can be to have a storm blow up from nowhere and strike without warning. To keep the record straight, it should be said that this girl was not in distress. She did not feel that she had failed, hence could not have known of her blind spot in respect to race.

To this prospective teacher, education was an idea rather than a practice, a concept (or dream) rather than a workday reality. In rereading two interviews with her, we find the marginal notes, "Has little feel for people," "Absorbed in art materials and designs," and—the final comment—"No change of heart is evident." For whatever the reason, we failed this student. We failed to sensitize her to people, to deepen her education on the human side.

Let us take another case, a very interesting one, and set it up as an exercise for the class to analyze. The writer is a novice at teaching, yet she speaks like an old-timer. She did not sweat out the interview to be reported; on the contrary, she said that she enjoyed the talk. Miss Graham teaches the second grade in Staunton, a small New England town. We attended the music festival in which "The Teddy Bear Picnic" was featured. The interview is tape-recorded.

The Teddy Bear Picnic

Q: Did the idea for this "picnic" come from you, Miss Graham?

A: Yes, I suppose so. I spoke to the pupils about the music festival, and then asked them if they wanted to take part. Of course they did. I said there were three good things we could do. I outlined each one, and the children took a vote. Almost all of them were for the Teddy bear thing.

Q: Would it have been better if the idea had come from them?

A: No, I don't think so. It doesn't matter where an idea comes

from, if it is a good idea. It should be liked by pupils, in line with classroom goals, and within the group's competence to do. I include the teacher in the group.

Q: How was the project worked out? How did you get it going?

A: First, we listened to Teddy bear recordings until we got words and themes. We began then to make our own adaptations. We decided there were to be six Teddy bears, two big rocks to jump over, and a lot of trees. This would leave enough children for the chorus. Their job was to watch the bears in the games they played and to sing three songs. Jimmy, who had a rabbit suit, asked if a rabbit could be in the play. We all agreed.

Q: Suppose the group had claimed that there was no rabbit and they didn't want one?

A: I would have asked them to think about that. My aim is not to follow any script blindly but to adapt it.

Q: Suppose someone had wanted to put in a peg-leg pirate?

A: I doubt if a pirate would fit into this theme. We could find another theme, but I'd have to think about that.

Q: Let's go on with the next step.

A: The next step is casting parts. I have 36 pupils. Everyone except Jimmy wanted to be a Teddy bear. We talked this over, and three girls said they would be flowers, for "flowers are pretty." No one wanted to be a rock or a tree or to sing in the chorus.

Q: This was a problem, wasn't it? How was it worked out?

A: Take the trees as an example. Trees are "dumb." Trees "just stand," and they "never do anything." Once you understand how children feel, you are in position to act. What could we do about the trees? "You can have a big wind," someone said. "You can make the trees blow." The pupils laughed and shouted at this, and some began to sway back and forth. There was no more difficulty about a sufficient number of trees.

The chorus proved to be a harder question. I spoke of how important the singing was and named the good voices. Helen, our best singer, wanted to be a Teddy bear, and several girls said they would not sing unless Helen did. We agreed to leave this problem unsettled. The Teddy bears—

Q: May I break in there. Why did you leave the chorus problem unsettled? Were you going to tell more about that?

A: Yes, I saw that Helen was the key. I was going to say that the Teddy bears play leapfrog, roll over, jump up and down, stand on their heads, all rough and tumble. I knew Helen wouldn't like this,

nor would her mother permit it. On the other hand, if she would lead us in the songs, she would win a lot of praise. I knew that she would tell her mother about the picnic—for all the children do—and that Mrs. L would advise Helen to sing.

Q: Did it work out as you expected?

A: Yes, just as I said.

Q: Did the mothers cause you any trouble?

A: Quite the contrary. Our town gets excited about its annual musical festival, so that there is no lack of parent cooperation in staging the numbers. All the pupils are, I suppose, like mine. They carry home the news from day to day. Mothers phone and ask what they can do, or they come and visit class. In this case, they organized a group to make costumes and to round up the few props we wanted. One mother joined us as accompanist so that I could spend full time coaching the children.

Q: Do mothers ever take over an activity of this sort? Run it?

A: Not in my experience. This is, of course, my first year of public school teaching. None of our parents are like that.

Q: I have been thinking about another point. Don't the children cut up a good deal? Fool around, roughhouse, like that?

A: Not my children. I keep them too busy and too interested. If I do have an instance of this sort, I give it special attention.

Q: How is that? Will you tell about that, Miss Graham?

A: Well, we are a group, and a group is a division of effort. Everyone gets to be dependent on everyone else. If there's anybody who is acting up, assuming he is not unwell, I suggest some work for him. It should be something on which his classmates depend, some step in a process. I am also a firm believer in supportive therapy.

Q: What is that?

A: As anxieties arise, we talk them out. So with fears, guilt feelings, and petty jealousies. I listen and offer, now and then, a word of encouragement and advice, but mainly I just listen while the group, or an individual, reasons out the problem. I may suggest alternative courses of action, but I do not, in this teaching role, tell anyone what he can or cannot do.

Q: Good, let us go on. I heard the applause the Teddy bear ensemble got at the festival. A production like this is a lot of work. I want now to ask why you do it. For example, are city music teachers required to participate in this show?

A: No, I guess not. I do not think it is required of us; in fact, I know it is not required.

Q: Why, then, do they participate? Why did you?

A: The annual music festival is a big thing. It was started about half a century ago. The city has always had it, as it were, and the people all look forward to it. It is the custom, and I guess no teacher would want to let the people down. If that isn't an answer, I really don't know one.

Q: You spoke a moment ago about the group. What do you want for the children in your group? Think a minute about this question.

A: Every child should feel comfortable in the group. Happy, effective, secure are other words. Children and teacher should plan together for the welfare of the group, the good of all. The teacher is at times the group's servant, at times its director. There should be competition in the group, as well as cooperation. A member can compete against himself; in fact, I think this is the highest form of competition. He can work hard to better whatever he has done, to make the very most out of himself.

Q: I wonder about a phrase you have just used, the "good of the group." Who can tell what is good for anyone other than himself? Even then he may be wrong.

A: Yes, I agree with that. But there are some things that are seldom good for anyone. Teachers have to watch for fatigue, overanxiety, and unregulated competition, for example. Second, as everyone knows, every school group can think for itself. It can decide things, and it can be guided toward greater wisdom, or fair play, or whatever, in its decisions. Third, if I want others to be kind, honest, intelligent, industrious, why, I must show these qualities in myself. A person sees the only true reflection of himself in the reactions of other persons.

We never restudy this case, relive the moment in memory, without getting a lift, a sense of satisfaction in being "a member of a trusted profession." It takes a second, thoughtful reading to get the feel of this young teacher, the impact of a personality. Consider what she has said:

1. Once you understand how children feel, you are in position to act.
2. A group is a division of effort. Everyone gets to be dependent on everyone.
3. . . . supportive therapy. As anxieties arise, we talk them over. Mainly, I just listen.
4. It is the custom, and I guess no teacher would want to let the people down.

5. Every child should feel comfortable in the group. Happy, effective, secure are other words.
6. The teacher is at times the group's servant, at times its director.
7. If I want others to be kind, honest, intelligent, industrious, why, I must show these qualities in myself.

Is this good teaching? Should the answer be in terms of B factors, or V, K, S, or J, or include the whole complex? All these elements are in the case either latent or manifest, and it is stimulating to assist a class in picking them out. At times this case is assigned to a team of analysts, in which each member reports on one of the five elements.

The way Miss Graham values her young people, her fair dealings with them, impresses us. Seals can be taught to spin balls on their noses, bears to dance or to walk erect, lions to pose or cringe, but people—human beings are something else again, a far more complex bundle of attitudes and behaviors. People are, withal, a stubborn lot. If they are faked or fooled or forced, or by their own sights mistreated, then a teacher has had it. That is the end of her effectiveness as a leader of the young.

To hold that judgment is central in the case, that in it is the teacher's strength, leaves much unsaid, for decisions have content. They are rooted in knowledge, perhaps wisdom, and guided by values. Take the phrase used near the end of the interview, "the good of the group." What is that? Who can be certain that he knows? Miss Graham does not use a lot of words on this, yet what she says adds up. She likes to teach; she values teaching. She likes her second graders; she values them. She treats them as a group, an interactive system. She is bound in spirit to her people. It is well to remember all this when, at times, we try to define that grand abstraction, the public interest.

NEED FOR EVALUATION

It is a simple truth that one cannot be sure he has learned, or what he has learned, unless he takes the trouble to find out. It is also true that students differ in their rates (and kinds) of learning. In spite of these facts, many teachers have abandoned their assessment function. They may, for instance, assign an average

grade to all students at the first class meeting, "so that we can get on with course work."

To us, the grading responsibility is inescapable, a duty entrusted to teachers by their profession and their society. To argue that "life" will test is not convincing. Moreover, to wait for "life" either negates or diminishes greatly the instructor's guidance function, a service students need and value in a human relations course. Furthermore, the view that "life will tell" assumes that one's instruction is adequate, a position we would hesitate to take without a continuous flow of supporting evidence.

From our standpoint, class and instructor should agree on a plan of evaluation, agree after explanation, discussion, and statements by students of their preferences. The plan might take the form of "in-process" checks or else a final assessment at the end of course work, or both, as we happen to prefer. It might include examinations, short or long; class reports, group assessments as to member contributions, and a number of other familiar ways of showing what is being done and learned. Our practice is to appoint a small committee to make a study of possibilities, and then to shape up in class discussion the plan to be used.

IN REVIEW

This book began with the statement that human relations is an old interest in education, that the field is taking on ever greater meaning and significance. Chapter 1 discussed this proposition, and it is the concern of the volume as a whole. After some cases had been given, the HR field was defined and the nature of "human problems" considered. Further points were the need for HR education and the way a few schools are developing phases of this work. Of the five school roles suggested, the main focus of the present writing is on *corrective education*, the art of solving problems in interpersonal and group-to-group relations.

Chapter 2 had three major objectives: (1) to describe and classify the sample of school-community cases to be used in the book; (2) to take a preliminary look at three general modes of problem solving: discussion, research, and appropriate action; and (3) to stress skill training in an HR course for school person-

nel, using the Tyler case as an illustration. To the various skills listed there, other skills will be added as the writing moves along.

The present chapter has had one central purpose, that of furthering student-teacher planning in human relations education. The main point of emphasis was the framework of BVKSJ learnings on which the planning of objectives for a specific college course might be based. Which beliefs are most important, what values should be stressed, the knowledges which are most relevant, the kinds of skills which ought to be taught, how judgment can be improved—all these are issues left to the determination of each learning group. It has long been important to us, to repeat a point made in the chapter, that the changes which learners want to make in themselves become the principal objectives of their college courses.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. In how many of your courses this semester (or term) have students helped to plan course objectives? If you have taken part in a project of this kind, write a paper telling how the planning job was done.

2. Recall the student in the "doll-cutout" case. Has anything like this ever happened to you, any "storm" blown up? If so, tell about it and then analyze the case in terms of BVKSJ factors.

3. Divide your class into groups of three to discuss the "Teddy bear" report. Let each group report to the class agreements and disagreements with the teacher's ideas and procedures.

4. What is a profession? Is it related to skills, knowledge, and values? Review for the class Myron Lieberman's *Education as a Profession* (Prentice-Hall, 1956).

5. "If we open any book," wrote John Stuart Mill in 1836, "it is impossible not to be struck with the mistiness of what we find represented as preliminary and fundamental notions." In your review of Part One, spot examples of what this distinguished scholar has said; then ask that they be clarified in class.

SELECTED READINGS

1. Bennett, Margaret E.: *Guidance in Groups*, McGraw-Hill, 1955.
2. Corey, Fay L.: *The Values of Future Teachers*, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1955.

3. Edel, A.: *Ethical Thought: The Use of Science in Ethics*, Free Press, 1955.
4. *Educating for the Professions*, U.S. Office of Education, 1955.
5. Hunt, M. P., and L. E. Metcalf: *Teaching High School Social Studies: Problems in Reflective Thinking*, Harper, 1955.
6. Tyler, Ralph: *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction*, University of Chicago Press, 1950.

PART TWO

Solving School Problems

CHAPTER 4

First Teaching, the Beginner

Those rules of old, discov'd, not devised
Are nature still, but nature methodiz'd.

—POPE

Long before a student completes his schooling, as far back as his wish to teach, he (or she) imagines the self in the teacher role. College can be dull but teaching will be fun, and so it has been for countless persons. Yet teaching is work, at times tiresome and exacting. To the beginner, who must learn the job, troubles may arise from every side without apparent cause. Little things perplex one, leading him to wonder if he has chosen the right occupation. Even as the individual seeks the answer, time goes on and the green wears off. It is then that memory plays its puckish trick. Older teachers tend to forget their initial strains and worries, to affirm that they among men were born to teach.

It is the aim of Part Two to study a series of problems in human relations in and about schools, the areas listed in Table 1, page 26. After a take-off from the college campus, this chapter will look at the student teacher, job getting, and the first year of work, often the hardest year. In concluding, special stress will be laid on student teaching, a gateway to the profession whose importance can hardly be overemphasized. But first, since this chapter opens Part Two, a further word on case teaching.

A NOTE ON CASE TEACHING

Our manner of case teaching is, as we have said, to present situations as bits of life, dilemmas where outcomes mattered to participants and to others. These problems are handled in ways that seem appropriate. At times a case is used as an occasion to reflect on beliefs or values, at times to start a search for knowledge, and at times for specific skill training. Often judgment is of central concern, thus leading to a study of decision making. Frequently a case is left for students to untangle, with little or no guidance from us. The idea is to vary case use, to adjust materials to learners, to keep balance all along the line.

In this style of teaching, one must keep in close touch with a classroom group. What is to be done tomorrow is likely to depend on how things go today. We check with the class from time to time in a formal way. For example, students may be asked to fill in a short, half-page form on their group projects. They are asked to report in confidence which team member appeared to have the best ideas; which one was best liked; and whether their own contribution was major, average, or minor. As this evidence comes in, we understand better both reportees and reporters. It may be that a lecture or a reading on group-work skills is needed, or else the situation may call for individual counseling and guidance.

In sum, both instructor and students must learn how to use case materials, and how they draw meanings from cases is bound to vary. Our main pleas are, we suppose, that teaching be considerate of feelings, that it be kept flexible and adjustive to student needs, and that it be related to scholarly knowledge as cited in chapter readings and made the focus of Part Three.

COURSE AND CAMPUS PROBLEMS

When does one learn to teach? The question really has no answer, nothing one can button up. Learning starts in childhood and spans a lifetime. It is, for some, most intense in college, most intense of all as one nears the end of college days and faces the

prospect of a job. Undergraduates like to write reports on "What, *by Golly*, I Have Learned," the learnings that go deep and tend to last.

It is easy to collect any number of papers on campus life, groups, and special activities, for these are exciting to students. It is much harder to get good human relations material on courses of study. Students prefer not to write about classes or instructors unless something very unusual happens. Here is a case of this latter sort. The writer is a good athlete, an education major, a forthright man.

Cribbing on an Exam

I saw this cribbing going on and I nudged Chuck to take a look. Old Sears [instructor] is dodderly; besides he doesn't give a damn. He sat there at his desk, reading a book. Chuck shook his head at me, signaling nothing could be done. We might have ratted, but we don't like that.

Well, time passes, as they say. When the exams came back, Chuck, Ed, Bill, and I had failed. I name these guys because we are pretty close. We're second string on the squad and we pal around. Anyhow, we flunked, and that didn't set so well. Flunk and off the team you go! So, what to do? What to do when one of the cheaters is one of my—and our—best friends?

The four of us held a huddle on that. Chuck said to hit it hard and play it straight, and that suited us. So up we go to see Sears and lay it on the line. Said he hadn't seen any cribbing, implied that there had been none. Acted as though we were poor sports because we had flunked. We said a guy who hadn't flunked would swear that cheating went on. Asked for names, we said no, not from us. Without names, old Sears said, nothing could be done. That was that, and we went out.

Again, a huddle. Ed's idea was to take the business to the education dean, to use some pressure on this chicken prof. Again the rub was the squealer part, and I refuse to rat. Chuck said we should go to Coach J. B., ask his advice, but I got a better idea. I'd run down the cribbers, put it up to them, and if this failed we'd go to L, the athletic director.

I saw the bums that same evening, the two main ones. I made my gripe, but it left them cold. They said the course was a stinker, so why not? Half the class cheated, so why didn't we wise up? I should have given this smart one a crack, but what's ever settled by that?

Told him instead that our gang was going to write a letter to the dean, naming names. He'd better get the hell to old H. J. [Sears], and face up to the facts of life. He needn't say who cribbed, just join with us in saying that cribbing went on.

That panty took a fright, all right. He went to Sears, sure 'nuff, for the next day things began to clear up. Old Horsefeathers hurrumped a couple of times, then said the test last week was "unsatisfactory." Too many, he felt, had flunked. He would throw away the papers and give a new test the next meeting of the class. Cheers from us—and this time we'll be out to see that the deal goes straight, that everybody gets an even break.

This writing is informal, to say the least, yet it is clear. Is the case kindergarten stuff, of no consequence? We doubt that. The case is material and nothing more, and its worth depends to a degree on what is made out of it.

First, let us look at events from the outside, the objective way. There are, it would seem, three tracks here, with "trains" running on all lines. A, the flunkers, B, the instructor, and C, the cheaters. Viewed from this angle, the way the A's use the C's to put pressure on B is instructive. The C's are placed in a position where they must do the decent thing or face the consequence of being named as cribbers on the exam. Although we are told little about Mr. Sears, the instructor, the press on him must have been very great.

Second, let us view the case from the inside, though this is much harder to work out. Since one cannot be sure what goes on in any head except his own, this kind of analysis should be labeled conjectural. It is a matter of opinion. With opinions anyone may differ, whereas facts should be the same for all.

As a test of inside thinking, take Professor Sears. What kind of man is he most likely to be? Old, tired, lazy, sick, incompetent? Or is he a man misjudged, a teacher facing a difficult classroom situation? Is he a scholar from whom, if one would but listen, much could be learned? The usual way to explore such guesses is by give-and-take discussion, a basic teaching tool. Another way is via the alter ego technique, a method new to most students.

In the cheating case, students would take the main character parts, ad-lib lines in the events reported. As each character

speaks, another student, his other self (alter ego), who is positioned beside him, tells what is in the speaker's mind, what he really thinks, what he feels but does not care to say. In these sessions, Mr. Sears has not fared well. When we have accused students of spoofing us, they have said in effect that some of their professors are much worse than they could be represented. Some claim that certain teaching they know about is scandalous.

In general, education majors say that many of their courses in education run thin, lack content and scholarship. Some instructors have settled into a rut which students call "hand holding," i.e., breaking the big group into little groups, each meeting to pool its inertia. Furthermore, students would (if they could) prescribe for their teachers regular observations in the public schools.

Some students are not too happy about their liberal arts courses, mainly in the social and psychological sciences. They resent the barren lifelessness of classes, the stockpiling of concepts. Second, they do not like so much emphasis on lectures, plus memory and recall. Third, they claim on the part of some few professors, an antieducation bias, a hostility toward professional teacher training.

The "cribbing case" was not given merely to make these comments. Its significance lies in a direction which we can only invite a college class, if it is interested, to pursue. We mean the study of the campus as a social system, a way of living and learning. Newcomb's¹ research on changes in personality in Bennington students, "a declining conservatism," is an example of this kind of research.

STUDENT TEACHING

Many colleges of education, as was commented earlier, are requiring their first-, second-, and even third-year students to have leadership experience with children outside the school situation. This program at Wayne State University is outlined in Figure 2.

Each successive semester, as seen in Figure 2, imposes greater

¹Theodore M. Newcomb, *Personality and Social Change*, Dryden, 1943. A broadly oriented single chapter is Lloyd and Elaine Cook, "Campus Culture and Learning," *A Sociological Approach to Education*, McGraw-Hill, 1950.

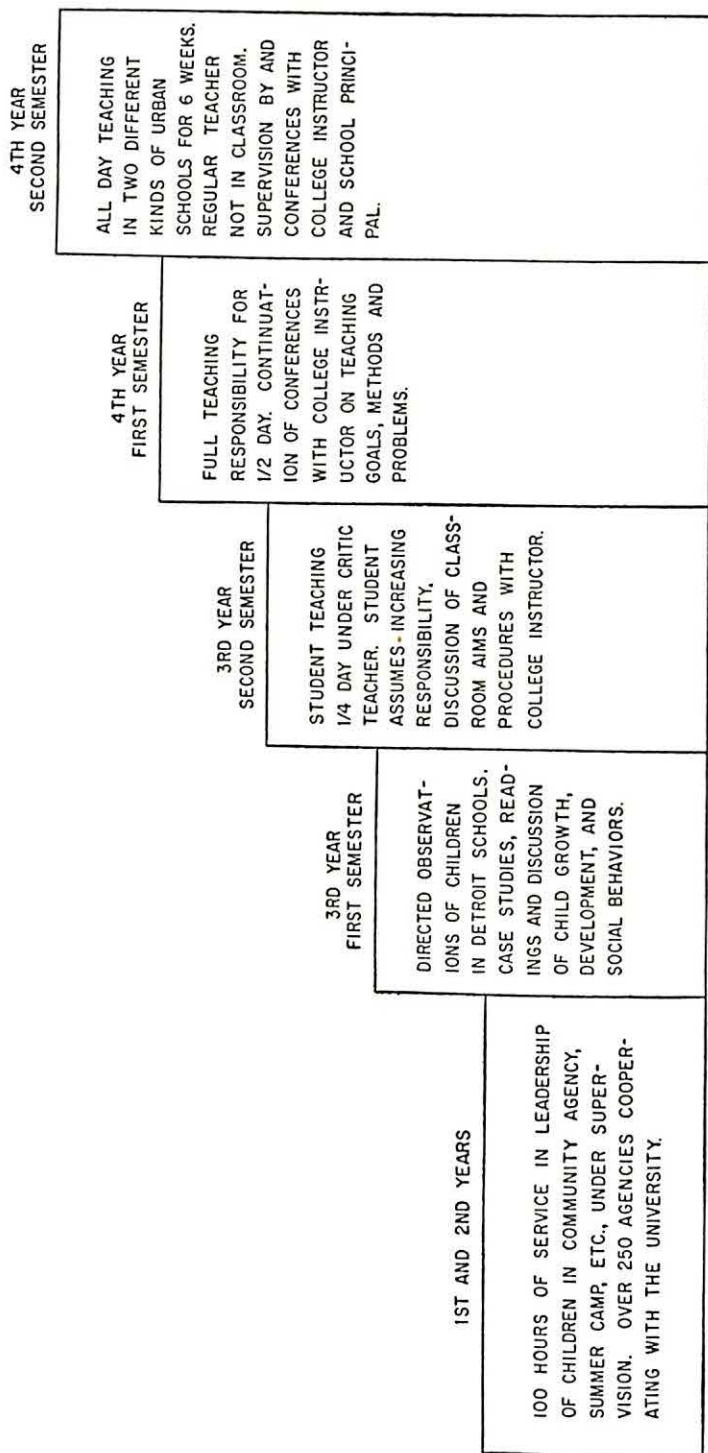


FIGURE 2. Experiences with children in a 4-year teacher-education program, Wayne State University, 1956.

responsibilities on education majors until, in the last half of the fourth year, the student assumes complete control of the classroom. All along this pathway, prospective teachers are meeting problems. They report overwhelmingly that their most difficult problems are in human relations.

HR problems in student teaching take many forms; in fact, one might fill a book with them. We shall give three cases selected at random. Each writer is a student teacher, a senior completing his college work.

Meet Me After Class

The school to which I was assigned is the Reed Junior High School. I was assigned to Mr. Bell, since mathematics is my field, and I was to teach a section of a 9B algebra class.

One pupil, Luz Maria G, attracted me at once. She was half-Mexican, fifteen years old, but looked older, and had an IQ of 115. Her father, an Anglo, and her mother from Mexico City owned and ran a dance studio, where Luz Maria gave dancing lessons. She danced at clubs and on a TV program, and intended to make this her career.

When Luz Maria fell behind in algebra, Mr. Bell suggested that I tutor her, which I was glad to do. For a while, we spent about a half hour together after class. Mr. Bell might stay and grade papers, but for the most part we worked alone. In spite of my help, Luz Maria failed her next mid-term, which I must say disappointed me very much. Feeling that I should give her still more help, I wrote on her paper after grading it, "Sorry. Meet me after class." I underscored the "meet me" part to make sure that Luz would respond.

A few days later, Miss Rankin, the Reed School principal, left word for me to stop in her office. She asked how I liked school, how my teaching was going, and then about Luz Maria. I told her about the tutoring, but she already knew this. She said that Mrs. G had phoned about the girl, that she had asked her about me. It was not until Miss Rankin inquired if we were keeping company that I caught the drift. This was shocking to me. I said, "No, of course not," but the principal continued. She remarked that Luz had told some girls that I was her boy friend, that I had promised to take her to our next fraternity dance, all of which embarrassed me very much.

Miss Rankin, as I recall the matter now, was very kind about my predicament. She explained about good pupil-teacher relations, especially for beginning (young) teachers. She knew there was nothing

wrong between Luz and me, yet she felt that the tutoring should be turned over to Mr. Bell.

Although this kind of case can be serious, it usually is not. It is the green wearing off. The question of social distance—how near, how far—in pupil and teacher relations, and the difference between respect and affection are issues which students like to discuss. They do not, as a rule, agree in their views and ideas.

Do This, Do That!

I had my doubts about this teaching contact when I first met the classroom teacher, the critic teacher, as she is called. She asked that I call her Miss Betty, as the children did, and she remarked that she had taught the fourth grade at Elm for the past 18 years.

From the start, Miss Betty clucked around me like an old hen with chicks. She would ask me questions, then answer them herself. She would tell me to do things, then do them for me. When I would do something, it was never quite right. She didn't want me to be alone with the pupils,—in fact, would come rushing in when we talked. Worst of all was the way she finished her sentences: "Thank you, *thank you very much,*" when the whole thing was just an act.

At the end of the first week at Elm, I talked over my situation with a friend. He was also student-teaching but having a very pleasant experience. He felt that things would get better for me and advised me to stay put. You get a black mark, you know, if you foul up a teaching contact.

The first opportunity to take the class, to really teach, came 3 weeks before Thanksgiving. I was to prepare a Thanksgiving unit, check it with Miss Betty, and then teach it. I must say that I was pretty excited about this, and I resolved to make the unit good.

I guess I sweated over this a week, yes, I know it was that long. Finally, I completed my plan and took it to Miss Betty. That song was all right, but this one and that one were too difficult for the chicks. These block-print letters (how I had slaved on them!) should be red, white, and blue, for the children always liked red, white, and blue, the color of their nation's flag. I should have something in the unit about birds, thank you, for all the little ones loved birds. Make these changes tonight, Miss Mills (and me with a date!), so that we can

I made the changes, and the unit was approved. I had a suspicion begin tomorrow. Thank you, thank you very much.

then, which proved later to be true, that Miss Betty did not understand what I was going to do. She had caught a few details but not the main plan, which was new and vital, for otherwise, I suspect, the project would never have been passed.

Next day I began by telling the usual story of the Pilgrims. Their landing at Plymouth, the first winter, the great feast, and all. I moved fast on this, since the children knew it by heart, and because this was only stage setting for what I wanted to do, namely, to reenact these stirring events in impromptu sociodramas. I might as well state now that I never got to give this idea a test. Miss Betty broke in time and again, filling in details, elaborating on my sketchy narrative—and thanking me each time. Seeing how impossible the deal was, I gave up.

After excusing myself, thank you, I went to the teachers' room and had a good cry. Feeling better, I returned to class.

Miss Betty is an aging ritualist, a person to whom the new is threatening, hence to be viewed with suspicion. Why she accepts student teachers, as well as why they are sent to her, are issues. On assumption that this arrangement may continue, what is to be done? The usual action would be for the student to report to her supervisor, who would in turn speak to the teacher. Dare the student try to handle the dilemma herself? For example, "I thank you, Miss Betty, for thanking me to thank you . . .," and so on. Would this be too risky for the student to attempt?

In terms of perception, the action should be such as to cause the teacher to take a new look at herself, to note her effects on successive student teachers. This might be done by use of a technique called *role reversal*, provided that supervisors hold regular conferences with school personnel at which student-teacher problems are discussed. *Role reversal* means that the classroom (or critic) teachers will take student roles in problem situations, and students or their supervisors will take teacher roles. The need is to illuminate human relations, to make them a matter of analysis and discussion, without anyone's feelings being hurt.

Gobble, Gobble, Gobble!

I never met the cooperating teacher to whom I was assigned. She had gone on sick leave the day I, as a student teacher, arrived. I was

given her room "until a suitable replacement can be found." That was over a semester ago, and I am still fully responsible for this class of second graders.

When I first entered the room, the pupils were making so much noise that the two teachers next to us came in to complain. They told me that, because of Miss King's poor health, the kids had had no discipline, that they would promptly drive me crazy. When the teachers learned that I was a student, that I had never before taught a class, they clasped their hands as if in prayer. "You poor, poor child," they said, like a benediction.

On the first day, in fact for several days, I tried sh-sh-shing the kids, and that lowered the noise level for a while but not for long enough to try to interest the group in schoolwork. Next, I tried shouting at them. "Quiet. Quiet. *Quiet!*" Again, a very impermanent effect. I am not ashamed to say that I went from this to a lusty "SHUT UP, YOU! SHUT UP!" for this mode of talk, along with some profanity, is the rowdy, vital language of the slums. I know, for I live in a slum area. I was born and brought up there.

And so it went for quite a while, with things drifting along. Some days good, some days bad, in a sort of predictable sequence. I decided about this time to make a new start—as if a really new start were ever possible in any established pattern of human relations! I tried breaking the class into teams of two, with each member responsible for the other's conduct. Nothing much happened to the group, nothing that struck me as very good. I had by now become well acquainted with several of the teachers, and when I talked with them about my 2A room, they all paid me compliments. Their praise, I discovered, was not for my teaching but for the fact that I was still on the job.

You may think by now that I had a batch of toughies, but there you would be wrong. The kids were not bad, not at all. They simply loved to talk and, no matter how close they were, they had to shout. They shouted in their homes and on the streets, so why not at school? Parents shouted at them and also cuffed them about. I was beginning to think about that. I would get a paddle, and name her Susie, and treat my gang to her sweetest kisses. But, for the record, I didn't do that.

As Thanksgiving came on, I got a good idea. The more I thought of it, the better it looked. So one morning I addressed my 2A Katzenjammers: "Listen, pests. You ever see a turkey? You, Bill? You, Prip? You, George Washington Jones? Sure, you all have. Turkeys gobble, gobble when they talk, and they talk most of the time. COBBLE,

GOBBLE, GOBBLE! When they yell loud like that, why, somebody puts them in a pen. Turkeys can talk in a pen, but they know what everybody is thinking about them. When they can keep their voices down, and speak soft and clear, then we let them out. Our turkey pen is going to be right over here," and I marked off a square on the floor to the right of my desk.

The kids grinned as they took this in. Nothing happened for an hour, and then the noise began to build up. "Hey, look!" James T shouted, pointing at a roach that skittered across his desk. "GOBBLE, GOBBLE!" I exclaimed. "OK, my lad, into the pen with you." Taken by surprise, James T hesitated, and I started after him. He slid out on the opposite side of his seat and walked sheepishly into the turkey pen. We went on with recitation, with the kids gaping at the culprit. When he began to shift from foot to foot, I told him to sit down on the floor.

James T stuck it out for over an hour. Meantime, silence (near silence) in the class. "Miss O'Hara," my turkey said. "Miss O'Hara, I kin talk right now. It was that—that bug." "Fine," I said. "I know you can talk right, James. You may take your seat."

I have completed 2 weeks of the new regime. On bad days, rainy days, I may have as many as five turkeys in the pen, but on most days there are none. The noise level is appreciably down, except for healthy sounds, but alas, the novelty of this business is bound to wear off. What to do next is a bridge I'll cross when it comes to me.

This could be called, we suppose, appropriate action. The curious thing about classroom tricks is that they often work. For the most part, they are gamelike controls which appeal to a classroom group. They are, we think, no substitute for deeper-going thought, though teacher opinion differs on this. Miss O'Hara, it seems to us, is a confident, resourceful young teacher, thus entitled to a compliment on her work in a difficult situation.

ON GETTING A JOB

The common pattern of job getting is application, interview, acceptance, and a contract—or else, possibly, a letter of regret. This sequence and its content vary with local conditions, including teacher supply and demand. All school heads express interest in human relations—that is, in teachers who can work with

people, teachers who can get along, yet few go as far to test this ability in applicants as in the instance to be cited. The report is by a physical-science major, a girl who is no bigger and does not look much older than the fourth- and fifth-grade pupils she wishes to instruct.

The Spider and the Fly

"Come into my office" said the spider [principal] to the fly, and I came, thankful for the opportunity. This was my third trip to as many different schools for interviews, and I hoped to get this job.

While Mr. Meade was getting out my credentials, four boys came into the office. They looked about the age of my kid brother, a sixth grader, and I nodded at them. The first boy in handed Mr. Meade a blue slip, which, as I learned later, means a discipline case. The principal told the boys to go into a room adjoining the office and to wait.

Turning to me he said, "It will take me a few minutes, I'd say 10 to 15 minutes, to look over your papers. I wonder, please, if you'd find out what is wrong with these boys?" This was, I must say, a surprise. "Of course," I replied, as if I did this sort of thing right along.

I entered the room, closed the door, and spoke to the boys. Mr. Meade opened the door to remind me that it was 9:15, that he wanted to see me no later than 9:30. I failed to notice that he left the door ajar, that he could hear everything we said.

"Well, boys, here we are." Not much of a remark. The boys looked at me for a second, then stared straight ahead or at the floor. "I'll tell you who I am and you tell me who you are. I am Miss Brown. My home is in ———," a small town about 40 miles distant. No reply to any of that, no change in body posture. I tried again. "Let's pull this bench up a bit," the bench on which two of the boys sat. I began to tug on one end, and the boys got up. Seeing I could not move it, or thinking I couldn't, the dark-shirt boy took the other end and we scooted the seat forward. "OK?" he said. "OK," I replied, glancing at my watch. *Time gone, 4 minutes.*

Although the boys had lost their frozen looks, they were not talking. "Where were we?" I said, as if moving the bench had caused an interruption. "Oh, yes. We were telling our names." Again, silence. "You," pointing at Dark Shirt. "What is your name?" I think the boy would have answered had it not been for his Blue Slip pal. "Don't tell, Rig. None of her business. You don't hafta. She don't teach here." That, I felt, was quite a speech, and the boy was right on every count.

"No, you don't have to tell, and I don't teach here. I would like to teach here, but I guess I won't be able to get the job." A little sympathy, or at least curiosity, in Dark Shirt's eyes. No change in the other boys. "You see," I continued, "I'm on a spot." Dark Shirt was interested, definitely. "What spot, Miss— Miss—" "Miss Brown. You see, I've been to three schools trying to find a job. I had kind of counted on your help." "You a teacher, Miss— Miss Brown? You old enough?" This was from the third boy, and they were all concerned now. *Time gone, 8½ minutes.*

This really broke it up. "Go on, Ed," said Dark Shirt. "Tell her what you're here for. You dope. You done it." The story was too simple and too funny to be other than the truth. On the way to school, Ed had had a scuffle with some boys and had torn his pants. In homeroom, his backside showed. Seeing this, the boys had laughed. When they tried to get a girl to look, the teacher had spotted them, and so the four wound up in the principal's office as "discipline cases."

It was so funny I felt like bursting. Matching the group's solemn mood, I took a pin out of my blouse and pinned up the torn pants, much to Ed's embarrassment.

At that second almost, Mr. Meade came in. After telling the boys they could go, he said he was ready to continue the interview.

The teacher got the job and has done "very good" work. In a letter to us, Mr. Meade states, "The event Miss Brown describes was a bit of an accident. Yet, in a deeper sense, it was no accident at all. I try as policy to arrange a situation, or to take advantage of an event, in order to test applicants in whom we are interested. The aim is to see if they can work with children, if they are resourceful and able to improvise. Their records can scarcely deal with that."

This is, we suppose, *situational testing*, a device used in industry, business management, the armed forces,² and elsewhere to get at performance skills. A college class will find it interesting to speculate on this kind of testing, its worth and limitations, in selecting school personnel. Students should consider especially the kinds of risks involved.

² For situational testing in World War II, plus the collation and interpretation of these data within a battery of tests and interviews, see Office of Strategic Services, *Assessment of Men*, Rinehart, 1948.

FIRST YEAR OF PRACTICE

Student teaching is directed teaching, thus primarily a college program. In regular teaching, the individual is on his own. He must meet whatever turn a situation takes, the day's run of "crises" great and small. Most case materials tell about these happenings and what was done. They tend to show resourcefulness or its lack, good judgment or its opposite, with a large number of reports falling into middle categories. The "Teddy Bear Picnic" incident described in Chapter 3 illustrates the high level of some first-year teaching, a point that needs no repetition in a new case.

The case to be cited is extreme. Knowing this, one can learn from it, as from any negative report. Mr. Keimi, who writes the account, is forty-seven years old. He has been and still is a pastor of small churches, a position he combines with that of teaching in a village school. He has a limited certificate, granted after a doubtful college preparation to teach.

A Teacher Calls a Bluff

This 7B class was a bad one from the start. Time went on and we had come to fractions, a phase of math which requires strict attention. I decided there would have to be a showdown. At first the noise was slight, and then it mounted in volume. I stopped the work and threw the problem to the class. What was to be done about this senseless talk behind my back?

It was decided that we try again, and the work was resumed. For maybe 10 minutes, all was well, and then the little devils began. Since they could not keep their promise, I gave them the silent treatment. I had used this before, and with good effects, so that they knew what they were up against.

I sat at my desk and waited. I would not recognize anyone who wanted to speak, nor would I answer any question. This was fine with them at first, but it soon got on their nerves. Charlene spoke up. "Mr. Keimi?" No response from me. "How can we learn anything, Mr. Keimi, if you don't teach us?" I could not resist that crack. "Ha," I said, "that's fine. Coming from you, a ringleader in this group. That is *very* fine." I can be as sarcastic as they can, if I want to be, but nothing fazes Charlene.

"Well," she said. "I don't think its fair for you just to sit there. Just to sit." Seeing that she was trying to argue, I really did go for her.

The more that girl cried, the madder I got. Not that I worried about her, for she has had it coming for a long time. I turned to the group and said that it was all their fault. I had been ready to go on with the lesson, and I had given them a warning. For the benefit of those who looked mean and sullen, I said that any time anyone wanted to transfer to McCall's 7B math class, that would be satisfactory to me. Their look said they all wanted to transfer, but I knew better than that.

Having had trouble with these kids from the first day of class, I thought it time now to drive home my point. "Charlene, I am calling your bluff. You want to transfer or not?" She didn't answer, so I knew I had backed her down. Ronald, a basic nuisance, spoke up. "Dare me," he shouted, "I dare you to." This was rebellion, and it had to be dealt with. "All right, Ronald," I said. "Your name goes to Mr. Kelvin [principal] for a transfer." I wrote his name on a memo pad. "Anybody else want to transfer?" Lud, a pal of Ronald's, said he did. Charlene said she would and two of her pals joined her.

I sent this whole pack, five in all, to Kelvin. I pity old McCall when she gets them, for they are troublemakers. Kids like this will come to no good end, and I for one cannot be held responsible for them.

This is Mr. Keimi's first public school teaching experience and, we are tempted to hope, his last. For 12 years, he has held pastorates in rural or village churches, all within a 30-mile radius of his home. His history is much the same in every church. Each new position looks promising, yet each turns out badly. There is trouble with church officers, or members of the congregation, or children in Sunday school. Mr. Keimi quits or is discharged, then finds another job. His longest tenure has been about 2½ years in a fundamentalist organization.

In two short talks with us, Mr. Keimi broke off the moment he was pressed. He had other appointments to attend. He was, in general, pleased with the above report and with his job record as a whole. His aim in life, he asserted, was to uphold four great ideals: self-discipline, hard work, faith in God, trust in Him. He had at times to "carry the fight to the enemy," "fight single-handed," as in his present school. He had found people at all ages to be "sinful, slothful, and disagreeable." He could not save them, or very many of them, and yet in good conscience he could not let them go.

To us, the issue is not this man's first teaching but whether he belongs in the profession at all. Is he a mental case? Since he has quit college, no psychiatric examination can be arranged. Let us imagine that he is simply immature, rigid, and impenitent. Recalling how he ducked the interviews, is there any way to work with him? How can Mr. Keimi be brought to look at Mr. Keimi, to speak to him and tell him what a knothhead he is? We are uncertain, for our part, as to whether this ever can be done.

IMPROVING STUDENT TEACHING

For some years we have experimented with indirect ways of studying student attitudes, getting at what persons want and value most. For example, college classes may be asked to advise a foundation on how to spend a large sum of money to improve teacher education. Undergraduate groups, notably seniors, always give high rank to student teaching, often rate it first.

In a 1953 survey of 180 colleges and universities, Dean Robert Magee found that 63 per cent concentrated student teaching in one semester or quarter. About a fifth required two semesters; 13 per cent required three semesters; and one spread this teaching over 2 years. In weeks required, the range was from 4 to 54, the median 18. At Wayne State University, the requirement was 44 weeks, with only one university holding to more, i.e., to 54 weeks. Three-fourths of the institutions sampled assigned students to schools for not less than half a school day a week and 40 per cent assigned students for a full day.

Wayne student teachers have been studied from time to time as to their attitudes and experiences and have been invited to make suggestions to the college faculty. A survey inquiry was made in 1954 by Mrs. Emma C. Carroll, with 225 student teachers replying to a questionnaire. Data given below are from this report.

Student Views on Student Teaching

1. Student teaching makes heavier demands on student time, energy, and ability than do college classes giving equal credit. One's responsibility is very much greater, for he is rated, not on what he

knows, but on what he does. Student teaching is far less permissive than you are led to believe in college classes. You are told, for the most part, what to do and what not to do.

2. Students have, as a rule, very little opportunity to try out the ways of teaching they have learned in college courses, to experiment with new ideas and methods, to make studies of children, or the like. School teaching, at least in a metropolitan area, is mass teaching. Much more stress should be put by college instructors on group-work techniques, and on ways to provide for individual differences under these conditions.

3. A student teacher's principal experience in human relations, aside from his contact with pupils, is with classroom and college supervisors. Most students report the need for better contacts and closer contacts with the persons who pass judgment on their school-work. Much more attention should be given to guiding the novice, and to encouraging him, than is now done.

4. The major human relations problems met by student teachers are classroom order, discipline of unruly children, resistance of regular teachers to new ideas and procedures, extra-duty assignments in the school, inability to get acquainted with parents and secure their co-operation, and lack of conferences with college supervisors (or advisers) due to the latter's heavy load and shortage of time.

If we assume that costs could be met, what changes in student-teaching theory and practice should be made? Our inclination would be to seek improvements along at least seven inter-related lines.

Critic (or helping) teachers would be better selected in co-operating schools and better paid for their assistance. College supervisors would be given reduced loads, perhaps an average of 10 cadets. More conferences would be held with students on their jobs; weekend workshops (one day) would be scheduled for the entire student group. Critic teachers and school heads would be drawn into these meetings so that differences in theory and practice might, if possible, be cleared up.

Student teachers would be given opportunity, so far as this could be managed, to use up-to-date methods, materials, and equipment. This procedure might require a kind of college "task force" of specialists who individually could come on call to a school to see what had gone wrong, to advise on problems. A

few pilot projects would be set up where new ways of doing student teaching could be tested out. Finally, as to be expected, human relations would be given much more emphasis than the subject now receives.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Experiment with the "alter ego" technique. Use some situation of your own invention, for example a new teacher (shy, lacking in self-confidence), who does not seem to be getting on in her classroom. Who is to help her? How?

2. Have you thought very much about the training of other professional workers—for instance, social workers? Read parts of Charlotte Towle's *The Learner in Education for the Professions* (University of Chicago Press, 1954), and report to the class.

3. If you had been the student teacher in the "thank you" case, tell how you would have tried to get on better terms with Miss Betty. Could that have been done in a heart-to-heart talk? If so, set this up as a sociodrama in class.

4. What is the present rate of pay for teachers and school heads in your area? Compare your findings with the rates given by Ruml and Tickton in *Teaching Salaries Then and Now*, a study made for The Fund for the Advancement of Education (Ford Foundation, New York, 1955).

5. Why, in your opinion, is student teaching so important? How is it conducted at your college? In what ways can it be improved?

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CHAPTER 5

Room Order, Teacher Method

It is natural and right for the young to be impudent and exaggerated, to live in swoops and circles, to beat about their cages, like any wild thing newly caught. The question is how they are to be tamed.

—ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON

"When you hire out to teach," wrote J. Abbott (*Harper's Magazine*, 1872), "some man will say: 'Do you have discipline?' meaning are you bigger and stronger than they. 'Can you get order in your school?'" Mr. Abbott would have liked parts of *The Hoosier Schoolmaster*, for like the famous pedagogue in this book, he believed that to spare the rod is to spoil the child. Behaviors now viewed as natural, or amusing, or desirable,¹ would have pained both men deeply.

Over all time, and for certain just now in our country, the great problem for many teachers has been room order, discipline, or control. In all, 793 cases in our collection fall in this area. The chapter plan is to sample this material, to present as many kinds of cases as space permits, and then to interpret "room order" from a group-dynamics point of view.

AN ORDERLY CLASSROOM

It is assumed that teachers want orderly classrooms, that this is just a way of saying that learning involves the relation of self

¹ Benz Plagemann, *This Is Goggle*, McGraw-Hill, 1955; see also Kay Thompson, *Eloise*, Simon and Schuster, 1955.

to others, that the group as a whole functions as the basic educator of its members. What, in concrete detail, is an effective class group? Is it like a pile of bricks, inert, acted upon, or like a hive of bees? Is there life in the group, the bang and chatter of busy workmen? Most college students, unless they are engaged in teaching, may feel remote from the young and thus need to visit school classrooms. Here is a day at a kindergarten, at least the day's main outlines.

A Day with the Small Fry

8:30-9:00 Inspection. The time is November, the weather fairly warm. Children play outside or come in as they please. As they enter, the teacher greets each one by name. Her voice is friendly, low-pitched, businesslike. Names are spoken clearly, slowly, so that all can hear. The teacher sits at eye level with her five-year-olds. She touches each child, an arm, cheek, hair—a warming, motherly contact.

There are 22 boys and girls. The aim of inspection is to see that each is fit and ready for a day at school. The teacher checks skin color, eyes, nose, mouth, and throat. With a pencil light she peeks into ears. She examines hands and wrists. If a child appears unwell, she asks him to sit at her desk while she confers with the school nurse, perhaps phones the pupil's home. At times she jots a note for the record or to send to the parents on some organic or behavioral symptoms.

9:00-9:45 Work period. After children are checked in, they go to a cloak rack, remove wraps, and hang them up. If someone slips at this, he is reminded by another child or else the teacher gives him help. If the kindergartners wish, each may work alone. Most prefer to work in groups, ever-shifting clusters of twos and threes, as a rule. They work, often, on a project left over from the day before. The teacher may ask a group about its unfinished business before beginning a new work task.

This group of three is housekeeping. A girl comes to tell the teacher of their need for a milkman, also milk, also a kitty to drink it. A boy is found who will be the milkman. A girl says she will be the kitty cat, and milk is obtained from the room frigidaire. Another group is poring over a picture book, exclaiming at its vivid colors, tracing with fingers its bold, block print, "reading" snatches of the story. They know the tale by heart, every word of it, as one will find out if he varies a bit in reading it to them.

Work tasks are, within limits, free choices. There is no set time to teach reading, for example, or writing, or listening; all are taught in one life process. Bobby brings a card to teacher, asking her to write AIRPORT. She returns with him to his group, at work building an airport. She places the card so that all can see and slowly prints the word. When Bobby presently asks for another airport sign, she suggests that he print it himself. He carries the suggestion to the group and, together, the boys print out (print at) their second airport sign.

The teacher does not flit from group to group or appear perturbed by lone individuals, yet it is clear that she knows what is going on. She moves about, easy and relaxed. She listens in on what is said, notes what is being done, but is not too ready to give help. Two small fry are at a big sandbin, building a fort. One boy kicks sand at the other, who, with a squeal throws a handful of sand on him. Then both begin to sand some girls. The teacher leaves the science table and walks over. Do the boys remember group rules? No sand throwing at anyone outside the sandbin!

9:45-10:00 *Clean-up time.* Activities stop and pupils put away their things. There is a place for everything—shelves, bins, boxes, each labeled for contents. Books and pictures go into child-size bookcases; crayons into painted (red, green, etc.) trays. All children lend a hand in tidying up, giving way to the STREET CLEANERS as these kindergardners sweep the floor.

10:00-10:30 *Outdoor play.* The children go out for a big muscle stretch. Swings, teeter-totters, slides, sandbin, a merry-go-round, a jungle gym, a soft softball. One child pushes another and the two fall in a heap. They get up, square off, and begin to push again. The match is even and the teacher pays no attention, for the boys soon turn to play. A child falls off the jungle gym and starts to cry. She comes to the teacher, who wipes her face. Two girls are hitting some boys with the softball. The teacher takes the ball and reminds the young Amazons of group rules. There is freedom here, as in the classroom, freedom under definite restraints.

10:30-11:00 *Group discussion.* The children come in from play, take off their wraps, and seat themselves in a semicircle. Fruit juice is served by a HEALTH TEAM of four members, who also collect the cups.

The teacher speaks of a trip the class has made to the city airport. What holds the airplanes up? Several children say, "The air," and the teacher smiles. A silly question to five-year-olds, a silly answer. Where do the airplanes fly? Maps come off a low shelf and are spread on the

floor; a map of the world, a map of the nation. A child says this plane, the one he saw, was going to San Francisco. Another child corrects him. It would stop at that place, yes, but it was going on across the ocean to Japan.

Where is Japan? Children tumble over each other to get at the two maps, searching both but not finding that country. Someone remembers the folders given the group at the airport. They are produced and there, on a map, is Japan. With this question settled, where is San Francisco? That is easier, for a group member has been there. Group talk turns to how she traveled, what she saw, and what people she met.

With but a few minutes to go, the teacher asks if the children enjoyed their visit to the airport. Should a letter be written to thank the port director? Who will sign the letter? All class members. What will go in it? A project is set up for the morrow, and each child is to think of what this letter should say.

11:00-11:15 Rest period. Each child takes a rest mat to his assigned corner of the room, where the mats are spread in rows. He may nap or not as he likes, as long as he is quiet. Some pupils take a toy, a book, a picture. Restless children are helped to relax. "I put my body to sleep this way," and the child is taught to let his muscles go. "First, my right hand. Stretch it out, so. See, it is tired. It lies still. Is it asleep? Yes, now it sleeps. Now, my left hand. Next, my right leg." Relaxation comes and with it often a nap.

11:15-11:30 Indoor games. Small ones carry their rest mats to the MAT HOME and pile them up. The group may sing a song or act out a play or listen to recordings or make music on their toy band. The teacher may tell a "make-up" story, with children adding episodes, or she may read a "real" story to the class. Boys and girls like best the high drama of, say, "Jack and the Beanstalk," where "peoples get killed up and everything."

11:30 Going home. Kindergarten is over. Children search out their wraps, put them on if they can, say good-by to the teacher, and leave for home—if mothers or other persons have come to meet them. No child is let go until he can be entrusted to a known and responsible adult.

This is no average school. It is for the favored few, the well off, the well cared for. Its spacious classroom and playground, its expensive materials and equipment, its well-trained teacher, all attest that. But does that fact condemn it, make it unaccept-

able as a model? Our wish is for schools like this for every child, for all who can profit from them.

What makes this school good? Everyone will have his own ideas, as he should. There is order here, the rules and routines on which the young depend, the day-in-day-out general sameness of events. On the other hand, there are living, purposing, and planning. And between the routine and the aliveness there is the teacher, the balance wheel. If she has a creed, as no doubt she has, it might well be *order in the group and growth in the individual*.

PUNISHMENT AS CONTROL

The preceding case reminds us of many "room-order" reports in which problems are met as they arise, as a matter of course. In the cases now to be sampled, the reverse is true. In these papers problems reach an acute stage and, as a rule, punishment or the threat of punishment is used as a control. The writer of the next case is the shopwork teacher in this high school.

Shopwork Safety Rules

After giving the students [tenth grade] two lessons on shop safety, I followed up with a one-period written test on safety rules. To students who made a grade of C or lower, I gave a manual to study and then kept them after school for a combined oral and written test. Afterward I posted three copies of the rules at various points in the shop. During the first two weeks in all my shop courses, I always take these precautions against accidents. Our machinery is power-driven and our work, especially in the metal trades, is complicated. I pounce on rule violators like a ton of bricks so that they know I mean business.

This 10B class started out as though it was going to be a bad one. Before the second week was over, a boy had cut two fingers on a lathe, not badly, but he needed some stitches. I went back to the safety rules, only I made the written examination a lot stiffer. The same day I handed out the marks, a boy pushed another boy, who fell into a cooling tank for forge metal. I said then, and I was mad clean through, that if any boy broke any safety rule, no matter which rule, he would have to write a thousand-word essay on shop safety.

That scared them, as I could see. No matter what some authorities write or say about getting tough with students, I have to do it in the

shopwork business. The risks are simply too great to permit any fooling about safety.

The work went well for a while, and then I noticed two or three boys who were getting lax. They would dash around machinery without thought, shirt sleeves flapping, in plain violation of at least two rules. After a little, I caught Jack R in some horseplay with another boy, named Rex, and I lit into the two of them, dressed them down properly. I assigned each boy a thousand-word essay, due one week from that day.

Again, a period of calm. Then one day I saw Jack working on a grinder without his safety glasses. I stopped him and took him over to where we could talk. He said he had forgotten his glasses. I told him this was his second violation and that he could now write a five-thousand-word essay.

The next day the principal called me to the office. He asked about Jack, and I told him all that the boy had done. Mr. Smith knows my teaching methods pretty well, so that there was no talk about them. He thought the essay was too long, that I had asked too much of the boy. I argued in defense of my action, explaining—as I had already explained to him many times—the danger in a shop and how particular a teacher has to be. A careless worker may injure not only himself but other boys. Smith agreed in theory but still said that I should knock off the essay.

At class, I told Jack he didn't have to write the report. He said he already knew that, that Mr. Smith had told him. Such interference from the office with my classroom makes me angry. I told Jack calmly that if he broke one more safety rule, I personally would kick him out of class. The boy didn't smirk or wisecrack, and I felt that maybe he would behave.

Again, the calm. Maybe two weeks or so. We had a breakdown one day on a band saw, which I had to repair. I looked up and could not believe my own eyes. There was Jack playing with a narrow 20-inch file, stabbing at people, swinging it in arcs, as if it were a sword or a rapier. I started after him fast, yet not in time. Before I could get him, the blade came out of the handle. It hit a lathe, bounced off, and flew about 10 feet. It glanced off one boy and struck another, Perry J, in the left eye. It knocked him out, fortunately, for the pain must have been intense. I grabbed him and carried him out and did what I could until a police cruiser arrived. The boy was rushed to a hospital where, a few days later, a specialist operated. But the boy lost his eye. He is back in school now, the best shopman I've ever had.

I tell you this just as it happened, and I know whose fault it is. It is mine. I should have got hold of Jack, the idiot, the cutup, and kicked him out of class. When it comes to safety, as I've said, you don't get anywhere by being soft. Risks to life and limb are much too great.

Knowing the danger to these boys, the teacher tried to enforce safety rules but was unable to prevent a tragic accident. That the instructor failed is simply a reminder that something like this might happen to any of us. The point at issue is the individual's reliance on punishment as a control, an issue on which students are likely to hold quite opposite views. Let us suggest some ways of using cases like this.

The idea of alter ego, two persons in one, is a good way to sample attitudes. One student may take the part of the shop teacher, Mr. Ballard, and another student may be his double, his inner self. Students may follow the same procedure for Jack, the pupil, and for Mr. Smith, the school principal. It may be assumed that Smith knows a good deal about the teacher and also about Jack. As scenes are run and characters improvise their lines, each double takes a position near the person whom he represents. As this person concludes some speech or action, the double speaks out and tells what really is going on in the person's mind, how he feels deep inside. Often a soliloquy of this sort will take the form of a debate within the person as to a course of conduct, a debate, perhaps, between his logical self and his emotional self, or else a conflict between his habit patterns and moral attitudes.

Another way to handle the case is via buzz groups. Suppose the total class is voted. Some members will believe the teacher accountable for the accident, others will blame Jack, and still others will be unable to decide, to formulate a point of view. We have combined these A, B, and C students, with or without their knowledge, into small groups. Groups are given, say, ten minutes to see if it is possible to reach a common view by *reasoning*. After the class is reassembled and the group chairmen have reported, the discussion can be run so that it will provide experience in large-audience participation.

Let us turn now to another case, a complicated set of circumstances.

A PROBLEM OF GROUP MORALE

The situation to be presented is again an extreme one. The case arises not from public education, but from industry, and the writer of the report teaches in the Industrial Relations Department program.

No Teaching, No Learning

I am one of six instructors in the Industrial Relations Department of the _____ plant in Detroit. The plant is under government contract to make certain products for wartime use. The contract specifies that assembly-line workers along with supervisory personnel must attend upgrading classes for a required number of hours before being eligible for advance in pay and rank. It is the duty of the IRD staff to plan and conduct these classes for all the grades of employees specified.

The foremost point I intend to make is that our teaching is a fake. The men are such a heterogeneous lot that if everything else were favorable, it would still be difficult to instruct them. But other things are not favorable. For instance, promotion is not based on educational achievement. It is based entirely on seniority, as per company agreement with the local union. Men are not motivated to work in their classes, and their behavior is a problem.

Most of our students are wage workers on hour rates. Others are office personnel, and others start as supervisory personnel. Thus we have three groupings. Some men have had four years or more of college training, but the great majority have not completed elementary school. At the bottom of the group there are over 200 men who are scarcely literate. About 40 per cent of all workers are Negroes, most of whom are migrants from the deep South. Among whites, there are 16 nationalities, with Polish predominating. Ages are variable, in general from sixteen to sixty-four years, the median being thirty-seven years.

My "class" has 48 members. The course runs an 8-hour day for a 5-day week, the same as on the assembly line. If you had dropped in Monday, you would have seen me trying to teach a unit on materials cost. About half the group would have been paying some attention, and as for the remainder, there is no telling what the picture might have been.

You would have seen men stretched out on the floor, sound asleep,

and other men reading the comics, a newspaper, a picture magazine. A number would have been arguing with one another, "soap boxin'" it is called. Some moving back and forth to the can, the water cooler, or just out, scuffing their feet, shouting at someone, banging the door. You would have heard machinery chattering, the big stuff in the plant.

These are the conditions we teachers face. You can see why we don't get too excited at the so-called "problems" of schoolmarms, also why most of us are discouraged and ready to quit. But a man has to eat. I might add that all of us are married and have families to support.

Back to my classroom. How am I to get "order" in the group—if it is a group? I have tried piping down the loudmouths. They not only tell me where to go but offer, if I'll step outside, to escort me. As for sending out the loafers, they would try to beat my ears off. Moreover, the men are backed by their union, so there would be a ruckus over that. I forgot to mention that by union and company agreement there are no grades in the course. A time report, time checked in and out, is the only record kept.

On this same Monday after lunch, the men were making so much noise that it was impossible to continue the lecture I was giving. As I have said, this was on materials cost, a very important subject in factory management. The leader of the noise gang was a chap named Polinski, "the Pole" for short; beefy, tough, profane. I called him by name and asked that he pipe down. He paid no attention, simply went on talking. I walked over to him and he squared away, ready for a fight. I have some weight myself, plus a hitch with the Marines, and don't mind a scuffle now and then if it's a fair go.

"Polinski," I said, "how come? Don't you like this class? What's wrong with it?" His reply is not printable. One of his buddies spoke up, a fellow named Nig. "Don't like your big talk. Think it the nuts. See?" I asked him to tell what he meant, but the Pole broke in. "We don't take nothin' off'n you. *Shadddd-upppp*, see?" I said that I did, indeed, see. "But it strikes me that this is one helluva waste of time. What do you guys want? What should we do in this group?" There was no reply. "Don't you want to learn something, get off the assembly line?" "Naw, wise guy, we don't," said Nig. "If we did, we wouldn't ask you. You're peanuts around here." Since I could think of nothing to say, that ended that.

The question I am hereby asking you is what to do about this setup. One instructor gave his two classes a questionnaire, and over three-fourths of the men wouldn't or couldn't answer it. I myself believe

that the whole system is at fault, that course content has little to do with it. Whether or not I am right, I am authorized by the IRD director and staff to ask for your assistance as a consultant on this problem.

These are turbulent men, held against their will in a system of meaningless human relationships. The situation is obviously explosive. Is there any chance to change conditions, to improve teaching and learning? At the invitation of the staff director, we began to meet with the IRD group and to study instructional and other materials. From the start, there was a warm sharing of ideas, plans, and suggestions, in a team spirit which is still vivid as we write. It was a pleasure to work with this staff.

1. What is the trouble? At the first staff meeting, each member addressed himself to this question. Each agreed to write a paper on the situation to clarify his own thought and inform the consultant. The IRD director offered to prepare a packet of materials, including the course syllabus, and to permit study of file data, such as orders and memos. The present writer spent that afternoon visiting the classes then in session.

It was agreed that the consultant would draw up a brief for staff discussion at the next meeting. This turned out to be a five-page report, supplied to discussants in advance for their study. The main problem was believed to be *low group morale*, due to a combination of circumstances. Two ways of gauging morale, measuring it, were outlined, and it was proposed that one or the other of these inquiries be undertaken.

2. Who (or what) caused the trouble? Thought at first took the form of who was to blame for what, then settled into cause-effect-cause thinking. The men in the class were obviously not interested. Worse still, many were openly hostile. Was course content at fault or was teaching method? Were there other significant variables, such as the fact that promotion was not based on educational achievement?

During this discussion, thought kept turning to larger issues. One was the complex relation of the company and the union. There were a number of specifics here, including the written agreement that no test of learnings should be made and no grades given to the men.

3. What were the possible solutions? Staff opinion was that

a study of morale, although it would be useful, was not imperative; that the facts of indifference, antagonism, etc., were plain to see. It was felt also that a study of this kind would be risky because it would arouse further suspicion and resentment.

Here perhaps a footnote is in order. For writers in the group-work field who think that a human relations consultant is a "manipulator" of persons or that he is an authoritarian imposing decisions on them, the case under review may contain a point. In the research proposal and at other times, the present author lost the group decision. He was judged too far out of line, too impractical, for safe operations in this highly tensional situation.

The central problem, to repeat, appeared to be to motivate the men, to focus their thought and action on educational goals. In our words, it was a question of group building, including control of deviant behaviors. In all, the record shows that over a score of "what to do" suggestions were made, with items more or less in conflict and too detailed to summarize. Our proposal that different ideas be put into plans A, B, C, and then tested out in experimental and control classroom groups was felt to be unworkable. At least two additional staff members would be needed, and the budget would not permit their addition.

4-5. Which solution is best? How can change action be started? It was decided to tackle the problem from four angles. This work has been in progress for almost a year and in our opinion it has succeeded beyond the group's initial expectations. Without the morale study proposed at the beginning, there is no very exact base line against which to measure changes in the situation.

A. A curriculum revision was carried out. The old units of study—for example, "materials cost"—dealt with what management felt plant personnel should study and learn. About half of these units were discarded as "unteachable at this present time," and new ones were constructed. An illustration is a unit on labor and management relations. After a preliminary "shakedown" period, each unit will be evaluated in terms of the men's reactions to it. If the men want further changes in the course of study, the IRD staff is prepared to make them.

B. A therapeutic approach was made to group deviants, employing the type of therapy used with military offenders in

World War II.² This approach took in part the form of "permissiveness under rules," along with supportive aid in restructuring behaviors. To illustrate, why fuss with the comic readers, the sleepers, the malcontents? Why not allow them, under clear sanction, to occupy a corner of the classroom? What they did with their time, as long as they did not disturb the work in process, was their own concern. The intention was, of course, to make classwork so informative and so rewarding that group talk would catch the non-cooperators and draw them in. To the credit of IRD, its members did not think they could change from their customary role of lecturer to that of discussion leader without training. More than half the staff enrolled for a semester in a college group-guidance course.

C. The next attempt had to do with union-management attitudes, including the "no grades" agreement. These attitudes were highly resistant to change. Feeling that neither intuition nor experience was a reliable informant as to this relation, the writer again suggested a formal inquiry but without success. In our talks with union leaders on giving passing and failing marks to the men, it was apparent that a management plot was suspected. When company officers were told that IRD teachers had to have much stronger backing, we were informed that the union would not tolerate this. After repeated search, no way could be found to solve this impasse.

D. A plan is shaping up for a human relations course for union and management leaders. A joint committee has been set up to work with IRD on this project. So far, discussion has been devoted to the kinds of case materials wanted, since the course will make a case approach. How this undertaking will finally turn out is anybody's guess, but at this date the situation looks promising.

Although a case of this complexity merits analysis in a full chapter, we are reluctant to make such use of space to the exclusion of other cases. If a classroom group wishes to go deeply into labor-management relations, it is possible to find a specialist—a psychologist, sociologist, or personnel man—and to invite

² For a brief, nontechnical example, with considerable case material, see J. Abrahams and L. W. McCorkle, "Group Psychotherapy for Military Offenders," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1946, 60: 455-464.

him to meet with the group for a discussion. The chapter bibliography cites some of the many research studies now appearing, readings worth a class report.

A THEORY OF DISCIPLINE

It is said that no one can educate anyone, that learning is a self-motivated act. What a teacher can do is to set the stage, to give the clues, to reward effort; but often this is not enough. The problem of discipline arises at this juncture; that is, when pupil attitudes and actions run counter to classroom objectives. It is then that teachers act to preserve educational goals, to create or re-create order and unity in their classrooms.

How is order to be secured? Bagley's advice to new teachers is still doctrine in a large number of school systems.

*Get Order and Keep It*³

"What shall I do," the young teacher asks, "when I have tried everything that I can think of and still fail?" There is no explicit formula which will cover each specific case, but one general suggestion may be given: *Get order! Drop everything if necessary until order is secured!* Stretch your authority to the breaking point if you can do nothing else. Pile penalty on penalty for misdemeanors, and let the sting of each penalty double that of its predecessor. Tire out the recalcitrants if you can gain your end in no other way.

Remember that your success in your lifework depends upon your success in this feature of that work more thoroughly than upon anything else. You have the law back of you. You have intelligent public opinion back of you. Or, if the law be slow and halting, and public sentiment other than intelligent, you have the right on your side. You have justice and the accumulated experience of generations of teachers.

Bagley was a great educator, among the best. He expresses a "get tough, be tough," point of view which was common to his generation. His methods have been discarded—for better or worse—by perhaps most schoolteachers but are still strong gospel to the general public. Although there is some ambivalence here

³ William C. Bagley, *Classroom Management*, Macmillan, 1915, p. 95.

(a tendency to approve and to condemn), the "get tough" view is often urged by citizen groups for big-city schools. These schools in particular are criticized for their inability to discipline adolescent students.

Among the popular books on this subject, the picture painted by Joan Dunn in her *Retreat from Learning* (McKay, 1955) is more or less illustrative. After college graduation, the author taught in a New York public high school for four years. Feeling the hopelessness of the case and near exhaustion, she quit public school teaching. Her narrative is personal, built up out of her day-by-day experiences.

All too often Miss Dunn found that her students had no desire to learn. A boy late to class: "I wuz dreamin' 'bout ya, and didn' wanna wake up." When corrected in pronunciation: "So, who cares? I say a woid like dat an' all my frens laugh at me." Many classes had sullen, defiant pupils who would yawn, lounge, stamp, drum, and wander about at will. No matter how little the pupils worked, the law required the school to keep them. "You can ask me to take off my jacket," said one boy to author Dunn, "but you can't tell me." To some of these youngsters, the school appeared to be "a clubhouse, a place of amusement," "a place for getting cheap lunches and meeting friends." We are told that many adolescents made themselves problem children because "they saw how important they have become."

The author notes that poverty, broken homes, and indifferent parents must share the blame for the plight of bad schools in big cities. For the most part, however, she traces teacher failure to theories of education. "We don't teach the subject; we teach the child." "Make every subject meaningful by relating it to children's interests." "A flexible rather than a fixed curriculum." For objective truth, the pragmatist's sliding scale; for discipline, student whims; for good administration, "a top-heavy bureaucracy." "The prevailing idea about texts," she says, "is that if one is too difficult, get an easier, 'modern' one. . . . The print gets larger, the pictures more numerous, and I fear that next will be the substitution of pictures for words." It is stated that language faces a general dissolution.

This report is, as was said, an indictment of secondary education. What is one to make of it? Is it anything more than a com-

plaint, an expression of frustration? We are inclined to think so, though it would take time to summarize the evidence. The book is, withal, a biased, antischool picture. While one can learn from it, it will not serve as a basis on which to generalize about all big-city schools.

To return to discipline, there can be no doubt that it is a central problem in a large number of schools. An adequate study of discipline in any given school would have to go much deeper than Miss Dunn has gone. It would in theory collect behavioral data and relate them to observed educational goals and methods, then relate the two to home and area backgrounds. A researcher would need to dig into adolescent culture, the changes it is undergoing as a result of social and technological trends in society.⁴ He would need, above all, to see the school *as a childhood career*. That is, he would have to try to get inside the young as they experience school and to discover how they perceive it, feel about it, and act toward it. To our knowledge, this kind of research has not yet been done.

What further can be said about discipline? Not much now for we are coming to the end of the unit. The subject of discipline, in its theory, is continued in Chapter 13, a section which might be read after concluding the present chapter.

To comment briefly on discipline, a distinction should be made between educating children and policing a classroom. No teacher should stand by and see a child get hurt, school walls or furniture defaced, or rowdy behavior engaged in—not if the teacher can stop the action. This is policing, and perhaps most classroom instructors must at times do it.

Second, a combined *tough-tender* principle has a much better chance of effecting changes in people than does either of these ideas taken by itself. One is firm when firmness is needed. One is insistent that work be done if the students are inclined to dally. One is fair, and honest, and sensible, about all this, seeking day by day to win and hold the respect of the young. As for tenderness, a job well done receives praise. An action beyond the call of duty is an event to celebrate. A teacher is human and at times so reveals himself and yet he is at all times an *adult*. He does

⁴For adolescent culture, see F. Elkin and W. Westley, "The Myth of Adolescent Culture," *American Sociological Review*, 1955, 20: 680-684.

not, for example, get mad at pupils, for he does not personalize disciplinary issues. He seeks to understand people, to help them behave as group members, to achieve their own self-direction.

Third, a teacher's effectiveness as a task leader (as this term is used in Chapter 13) is dependent upon his having first established a firm basis in good human relations. Unless he establishes this basis, he will find it very difficult to tighten the reins if by chance some event makes this act obligatory. What has just been said applies to everyday, normal individuals, the mine-run good-to-bad-pupils. Abnormals, such as the emotionally disturbed, should be given the special care and treatment to which, in all fairness to them and their peers, they are entitled.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Are there kindergarten or "early el" majors in your class? If so, we suggest a panel on the "small fry" case. If not, invite in a specialist on kindergarten and then interview this person.

2. To the best of your judgment, how should the safety issue in the shopwork case have been handled? If you have had an experience of this kind, tell about it and what you learned from it.

3. Would your group like to take a field trip? A good project, if your location permits, is to visit a large business or industry and talk with the head of personnel about human relations in that social system.

4. What is your own theory of school discipline? Prepare an essay to be turned over to a student committee, which will classify student ideas and opinions and report them to class.

5. A very good class period can be spent by having two teams of two students each review and report on two books selected from the three below. Let this meeting be chaired by a student.

A. K. Cohen: *Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang*

Fritz Redl and D. Wineman: *Controls from Within*

S. R. Slavson: *Re-Educating the Delinquent*

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CHAPTER 6

Teaching Children Who Differ

"Do I have to go to school?" the child asked. "Oh yes," I said. "You wouldn't want to grow up ignorant, would you?" "I wouldn't mind," she replied. "See, I'm crippled. I can never walk. My momma told me."

—LITTLE GIRL IN AN AREA SURVEY

To say that no two persons are identical, that each is different, is a commonplace. Differences often are great enough to advantage an individual or to handicap him, since they work in both ways. In either case, marked deviation from a norm sets severe problems in human relations and in schooling. This fact has led to a professional field, that of special education, whose central feature is concern for the exceptional human. The great appeal of the field to schoolteachers is in all probability by way of their resolve to help the disadvantaged live well with their peers, to guide them toward happy and effective living.

We are not specialists in this field, nor need one be a specialist in order to work on problems in human relations. School personnel need, first, to find deviant persons; next, to understand them; and then to teach them sound "self" concepts, along with group participational and other skills. Another need is to inform normal human beings about these young people, including the truth that attitudes toward the deviants cause problems where otherwise no problems would exist. This is a hard learning to

inculcate, but progress is being made. The chapter will run long because of the importance of the subject.

INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES

Modern schooling like modern living is mass conditioned, mass oriented. The beginning of wisdom for many teachers has been a sensitivity to individual differences, a mind-set that sorts persons from aggregates. Here is part of a third-grade teacher's report.

So Many Individuals!

I think first of our togetherness—for the class has become a group—and then of how we differ.

There is Charles, who had polio. He wears a heavy hip-to-ankle brace, as he must do for life. He catches when the boys play softball, and he can bat but not run. When sides are chosen, he is among the first few players whose names are called, for he is good at everything he does. In class, he excels in every subject area, and he reads more books than anyone else. He has asked me about an occupation where his defect will not be a handicap, a question most unusual for a boy of his age.

Jack is a handsome boy, a leader in all group activities. He comes from a better than average home, a large, comfortable, well-knit family group. Jack is so unlike Tony, tough guy among the third graders. Yesterday, Tony was teasing Herta, a scared little DP child, and Jack ordered him to stop. Herta, I might add, has been hard to talk with, to understand, except once a few days ago when she told me about her kitty. "I take my kitty to bed with me. I hug and kiss my kitty. My kitty loves me."

Sharon is our little belle. Her hairdo, her red fingernails, her stylish dresses are the envy of peer mates. She takes lessons outside school—music, dancing, and dramatics. She is so much the little adult, the performer, that I wonder if ever she is just child. Her mother is difficult. I asked her midway in the semester to help Sharon with arithmetic. Mrs. N proved to be so demanding and so high strung that the girl dropped further and further behind. She does not learn easily but sticks to the work she undertakes.

Georgie R has gland trouble, a marked trend toward obesity. Boys call him "Fat," "Pimple Pox," and "Four Eyes," since he is nearsighted and wears glasses. They pick on him, make him the butt of their jokes.

If he is pushed into a rough and tumble, he tends to scratch and bite like a girl. George likes to tell riddles like this one: "What's twelve and twelve?" "Twenty-four." "Shut your mouth and say no more." These rhymes are funny to the children. They are the way George seeks to win status.

Mike is a newcomer, a serious Negro boy. He is the only colored pupil in the group, and most children tend to hold him at a distance. His close friend is Curtis, who lives on the same street. I have seen Curt take Mike's part against other boys, and I know that Mike helps Curt with his lessons.

And so the account goes, with two or more pages on each of the 42 individual pupils. Here are, we imagine, the normal differences to be found in a vast number of public schools. While teacher observations are no substitute for more penetrating study, they are a good step toward a fit between class and instructor, a basis for individualizing instruction. The larger the group, the more difficult this is to accomplish, as teachers report from frustrating experiences.

THE VERY TALENTED

By the very nature of mass education, teachers tend to spend more time on the disadvantaged, including so-called problem children, than on the talented—a practice that can be debated pro and con. Only a few reports deal with highly talented individuals, and none in our collection deal with the extremely gifted. A case of this kind makes a good opener for a classroom panel discussion.

The example to be given is excerpted from the autobiography of Mr. Norbert Weiner, once a child prodigy, now a distinguished mathematical scientist, founder of cybernetics. At the age of eleven, Norbert Weiner entered college. At fourteen, he became a graduate student, and at eighteen, having studied at Göttingen and Cambridge, he received his doctorate and entered college teaching. His father, a professor of Slavonic languages, took charge of the boy's early education. Our account covers the first eight years of Weiner's life, from 1894 to 1902.¹

¹ Adapted from Norbert Weiner, *Ex-Prodigy*, Simon and Schuster, 1953. Quotations used by permission of the publisher. See also Mr. Weiner's *Cybernetics*, Technological Press, 1948.

First Remembrances

"I was brought up in a house of learning," writes Weiner. "My father was the author of several books, and ever since I can remember the sound of the typewriter and the smell of paste pots have been familiar to me."

The author's memories go back to the age of two years. He speaks of a stairway up to the family apartment, which "seemed to rise to an interminable distance." He recalls going with a nursemaid to make purchases. Around the corner from his home was a hospital. Although the child had no idea what this building was, "the tone in which my mother mentioned it filled me with gloom."

At the age of three, memories are clear and numerous. They relate to a birthday, playmates, servants, the neighborhood, his mother, toys, books, and songs. Weiner recalls a French maid, who began to teach him the language. "I have no recollection of Josephine herself but I do remember the children's textbook she used, with the names and pictures of a spoon, fork, knife, and napkin ring."

The boy began to read at the age of three. "Even before I could read with any ease, I used to finger through the pictures." His books were mostly heavy ones, not suited to even a precocious child. One was a natural history, another a treatise on the planets. The *St. Nicholas Magazine* was "a revelation to me and constituted much of my most pleasant reading in childhood."

The author remarks that he was "an easily frightened child." He recalls two comedians in a vaudeville show who began to slap and kick each other. The boy was so badly scared that he had to be taken out of the theater.

At the age of four the child was enrolled in a kindergarten. He remembers that he liked the games and activities, and that "I met my first sweetheart there, a dear little girl whose voice charmed me."

Weiner has clear first memories of his mother but not of his father. The latter was "an austere and aloof figure whom I saw only occasionally in his library, working at his great desk." There is no recollection of coldness or harshness on his father's part, except that "the low timbre of the male voice was in itself enough to scare me." For the very sensitive young child, "the only parent is the mother, with her solicitude and tenderness."

The writer recalls his first schooling. "I began in a little red school-house in the country, where children of all ages studied under one teacher." He can remember nothing that was taught at school, "only

that there was a pond outside the building where, in winter, children were sliding and skating."

The boy's mental ability, along with his wide reading, made his grade placement difficult. He was tried in the third grade, then shifted to fourth, where he did not get along with the teacher. It is interesting to note, in view of his career as an outstanding mathematician, that his major deficiency was in arithmetic. His father withdrew him from school and began his systematic education. He set the boy to work on algebra, which "offered greater stimulus to my imagination."

Mr. Weiner comments from time to time on his rapid learning. "It is impossible for the child, whether he be a prodigy or not, to compare the early stages of his intellectual development with those of other children." Parents and teachers can make these comparisons, but not the child. "In one's earlier stages of learning, one is his own norm, and if he is confused the only possible answer is that of the Indian, 'Me no lost, wigwam lost.'"

By the time the boy was seven or eight, he had ranged over his father's large and catholic library. "I was an omnivorous reader and, by this time, I had overstrained a pair of rather inefficient eyes." One book in particular fascinated him, a volume on light and electricity. "I followed it up by further reading in physics and chemistry," fields he was to pursue through much of his adult life. When he could no longer read because of myopia, his father secured a college student, a chemistry major, to set up a lab at the Weiner home and instruct the child in simple experiments. The boy was then about eight years old.

Weiner spends several pages on his father's method of teaching. "He would begin the discussion in an easy, conversational tone. This lasted until I made the first mistake. Then the gentle and loving father was replaced by the avenger." The first warning, the author recalls, was a sharp, aspirated "What!" If the boy did not correct his error at once, he was required to repeat the work, time and again. If a second mistake was made, "the last shreds of my father's temper were torn." The latter spoke in words which, to the youngster, were "violent in the extreme."

"The schoolmaster everywhere," the author notes, "can summon to his aid the absurdity of his pupil." The father's impatience, his irony and sarcasm, his insistence on perfection, became a whip over the boy. "My lessons often ended in a family scene. Father was raging, I was weeping, and my mother did her best to defend me." The author

grew afraid that the family could not withstand such strains, and "it is just in this unity that a child's security lies."

It was inevitable, Weiner believes, that he should have read, when very young, John Stuart Mill's account of himself and his father, a relationship somewhat like Weiner's own. "I cannot deny that, in my attitude to my father, there were hostile elements." The author expands on this but, in the end, rejects a Freudian interpretation of father-son conflict.

By this age, perhaps earlier, the boy had discovered his "clumsiness," in comparison with playmates. "I thought I could not catch a ball when the fundamental fact was that I could not see it." Out of this early ineptness grew a dislike for most rough-and-tumble games and sports, especially for competitive athletics. The boy had a bookish vocabulary, which struck other boys of his age as queer, and a scholar's tendency to withdraw into the world of ideas.

Being a child prodigy is, in the author's opinion, "neither a blessing nor a handicap." It is a fact of nature, a reality to be faced. It can lead in either direction, i.e., to great achievement or to dismal failure. "I learned that scholarship is a calling and a concentration. I learned a fierce hatred of all bluff and intellectual pretense, as well as a pride in not being baffled by any problem which I could possibly solve. These are worth a price in suffering, yet I would not ask this price to be exacted of a man who has not the strength to stand up to it. The price cannot be paid by a weakling, and it can kill."

It has been said that no child prodigy can be believed in, that there never was a person like that! Unless students know of cases at firsthand, they are inclined toward this view. How can a youngster of eleven years enter college? What kind of person would he be? How would he be regarded by his classmates? Obviously, here are difficult problems in human relations, a fact made evident in Weiner's early years. To repeat, now is a good time to set up a class committee on the very talented, to review the widely scattered literature in this field.

HANDICAPPED CHILDREN

Teacher cases on the handicapped include the physically incapacitated, the mentally retarded, the emotionally disturbed, and the socially maladjusted. The writer of the first case teaches the third grade.

Jerry Gets a Hand

One day in April, Jerry Rosenthal's mother phoned to say that there had been an auto accident, that her son was in the _____ Hospital. The boy had been struck on the way to school by a hit-run driver and his right hand had been cut off at the wrist. I told her what a shock this news was and how sorry all of us were. I asked how Jerry felt and if there was anything we could do. He was doing well, she said, but still had considerable pain. She added that it would be almost a month, if everything went well, before he could return to school.

I visited Jerry about a week later at his home, but he showed no interest in any school news. Mrs. R said that he lay with his face to the wall most of the time or simply stared at the ceiling. I left the story books I had brought and offered to get him any book he wanted, but he did not ask for any.

Knowing how the loss of a hand might affect the boy, I felt that our group should be prepared for his return. We had material on White Cane Week, which somehow I had not used; and I decided that this would do as a way of introducing a unit on the handicapped.

We made a list of the physically handicapped, chiefly those with bodily impairment, and then studied the nature of their disability and what could be done about it. We were able to arrange for a demonstration of aids and appliances, which I thought was very good.

Ours is a city school, with the children widely scattered in the district. Although I had told the class that Jerry was in the hospital, that he had been hit by a car, they did not know much more than that. As the time for his return drew near, I visited him again. He had been fitted with an artificial hand but found it very hard to use. When I came once more a few days later, Jerry was in a much happier mood. He ran through a number of exercises in the use of his hand, taking pride in his increasing skill. That was on a Saturday, and we discussed his coming to school the next Monday. His mother agreed with this, and so the date was arranged. Here I made a sad mistake, as I shall tell, by not asking Mrs. R to bring the boy directly to my room.

On Monday, when Jerry came to class, he was carrying his new hand inside his coat, out of sight. He had met with some experience which I do not know about, and he was in tears. He asked if he had to put on the hand, and it broke my heart to say yes, that would be for the best.

By now the children were oh-ing and ah-ing and straining to see. I set Jerry on my desk while I quieted them. After whispering a word of encouragement to the boy, saying chiefly how much I counted on

him, I explained to the group that Jerry had a new hand, that he would show us how he put it on.

The lad, I must say, bucked up very well. With a little assistance from me, he strapped the hand in place. When he picked up a book on the desk, the children yelled and clapped with glee. Jerry picked up another book, then a pencil, then an inkwell. The pencil was almost too much for him, and as I watched his effort to grasp it, I confess I prayed for him. To declare that the grade was impressed does not do justice to the facts. Someone handed his own pencil to the boy, asking if he would pick it up. Everyone found something which he wanted picked up, a symbolical offering to this brave youngster.

A pupil asked how the hand worked. What made the hand mind him? Jerry offered to show the group, and again I helped him. Pupils could not credit the fact that, by working certain arm and shoulder muscles, the hand would mind. Some boys began to flex their upper muscles to see if their right hand would pick up a pencil, and Jerry laughed at their failures.

This case can lead to a good discussion of the handicapped, including a review of the technical literature in this field. We often use it, along with the following case, to teach again the meaning of human relations education. The HR part of the "Jerry Gets a Hand" situation was how to return the boy to the group; to begin to build in the group an understanding and in the boy a self-confidence. Consider, now, the same kind of problem but in a different context.

Bobby, a Nonreader²

Bobby, seven years old, couldn't read and apparently couldn't learn to read. When I called on him in class, his eyes glazed, his hand shook as he turned a page. He looked quickly at the pictures to see if he could tell what the story was about. Although his guesses sometimes showed little about the author's intention, they did reveal a great deal about the boy's problems. One day he interpreted a picture of a small lad crying by "reading" from the book; "Billy is crying because he is lost. He cannot find his mother or his father." Actually, the story said that Billy was crying because he had skinned his knee.

I began to give Bobby two tutoring hours a day, using a kinesthetic approach to reading. This means that he traced with his fingers words which had been written in large script on poster-size paper. The idea is that, as a child is forced to feel the letters, he will become friendly

² Adapted from Louise Baker, *Snips and Snails*, McGraw-Hill, 1953, pp. 66ff.

with them. He will be able to "see" words with his eyes as he cannot do in the grip of fear.

As Bobby began to improve in reading, I faced the problem of how to treat the boy in class. Not to call on him would never do, for he would have been worried over this special privilege; yet I could not chance a blundering recitation. I felt obligated to save him, to save myself and the group, from our painful empathy, for we felt as much agony over his scholastic failure as he did.

I contrived a simple method to assure Bobby of success. I called on pupils in order of seating, asking each to read a question and to answer it. Only a naïve teacher would slip into this pedagogical pitfall. Each pupil counted down to his sentence, fully prepared to read it. My boys always eyed one another roguishly whenever I announced this reading procedure.

Bobby, like the others, counted down to his question and then, laboriously, for I could see his lips moving, sounded out the words over and over under his breath. When I called on him, he read his assignment with a little show of pride, the first time he had ever done this.

Before long the boys stopped pitying Bobby, and Bobby stopped having "stomach aches" or other pains "just here and there." No one noticed that he was spared when recitations were in random order. By the end of the term, the boy was really reading. He was the worst reader in the class, and yet therein lay his great triumph. To be the worst reader, he still had to read, a feat he had never before accomplished.

The point of this incident is very significant. *Scholastic problems are almost always problems in human relations.* We have long felt that specialists in subject areas such as reading, and child psychologists in their clinics, tend to ignore this fact, to slight the social side of learning. Louise Baker, from her years of teaching, gives many cases in which HR factors figure heavily. These factors operate also in the case that follows.

Here is a case, next, in which emotional disturbance, and consequent social maladjustment, appear to be at issue.

The Deadpan Game

When Tinky passed from second to third, a record card was sent along with him. On it Miss Riley had written: "See what you can do

about Tink's lying. I have worked hard to correct it but made no headway. Good luck to you, Miss Vann."

On the first few days of class, Tinky was fine. A neat little lad, very much alive. Attentive and cooperative but at times morose. He seemed under a strain of some kind, which usually means a bad home condition.

One day, on returning from the lavatory, Tink left our room door open. "You forgot something, Tinky. Go and close the door." "We got to leave it open, Miss Vann." "Why, Tinky?" "Fire. The building is on fire."

"Fire, fire," yelled a little girl. "FIRE, FIRE!" screamed other pupils, as the class stampeded for the door. Before I could stop the rush, the kids had pelted out into the hall. I came after them, looked up and down and smelled for smoke, then shooed them back in. I said everyone should take his seat and go on with his work.

"Tinky, come here." He came to the desk, excited, alert. "Where did you see the fire?" He hadn't seen it; he had smelled it. "Where?" Down there, down the hallway somewhere. "What had it smelled like?" He hadn't really smelled it, but thought he might have smelled it.

"A big ol' fire would burn us up, wouldn't it, Miss Vann?" Indeed it would, Tinky, unless we got out. "A big ol' fire starts when a mouse gnaws like that." Like what, Tink? "Like Gramma says. On a match." Will you explain, Tink? "Mrs. Gerrig's house. It burned all down when a mouse ate some matches in a kitchen, Gramma says." Did you see a mouse here at school, Tink? "Yes, Miss Vann. Two mice. In the lavatory. Gnawing on things."

Next day, we had a truth lesson. Who had ever seen a mouse gnaw at matches which burned down a house? Tinky started to speak, then checked himself. "Now," I said, "let's take Mickey and Minnie [white mice, room pets]. I placed them on my desk and gave them some matches. After a sniff or two, they ignored the matches. "See? They do not like matches."

"Now, will you think about what I shall say. Suppose I say there is a fire in our school when there is no fire. Would that be telling an untruth? Could it hurt people?" On all this, Tinky was quite clear. No one should tell a lie, not even a little lie. A lie can kill people, "just like big ol' buffaloes." This reference was to a story we had read about a herd stampede.

On this same day, Tink and Tuff ran an errand for me, taking a note to the janitor. The boys had been gone no time at all when Tinky came bursting into the room, face red, short of breath from, I judge,

running up the stairs. "There's a fight, fight! Right out there, in the hall." We waited spellbound and Tink went on. "A fight, right there! Two great big boys, blood all around. Blood, blood, *blood!*"

"Wait, children, wait!" This time no stampede. "Come here, my boy." As I spoke, Tuff pushed open the door, a bit done in from climbing the basement stairs. He came on in, looked at me and then at Tink. He took his seat without a word. "Tuff, is there a fight?" "No, Miss Vann." And then with shrug, he added, "It's just that crazy ol' Tink."

These two incidents will give you some idea about Tink. Obviously, his imagination was working overtime in order to meet some need, probably the need for group recognition. Until I could visit him at home, get into his backgrounds, I would have to stop his room-shattering alarms.

When the boy made his next request to leave class, I permitted him to go. To the children I said, "How would you like to play a game on Tink?" All agreed in clamorous chorus. "All right. This is called the deadpan game, and here is the way it goes." On the spur of the moment, I devised the trick.

"Have you ever made your face into a deadpan? You do it like this," and I demonstrated. "You keep very stern. You look at your desk or at the floor. You do not smile or lift your eyes or anything. You are a deadpan. No matter what anybody says, you never do look up. You pay no attention to him. You do not show him how you feel on the inside. If you feel that something is funny, you do not laugh. If Tink walked in right now, you would pretend not to see him. You are a dead deadpan. Now, get ready, for Tink will be coming. I will hear him at the door, and I will say to you 'DEADPAN, DEADPAN.' You will know what you are to do."

When I heard Tink at the door, I signaled for deadpan. Tink burst in, hot and bothered as usual. "Oh, Miss Vann," he exclaimed. "Some kids are breaking the windows. Breaking them right out."

The children were stiff and silent. They stared straight down, and not a child looked up. Tink caught this in a glance, and I have never seen anyone so nonplused. I asked him for the story, but he had lost all interest in telling it. With a frown on his face, he walked quietly to his seat. I announced then that the game was over, and the pupils yelled and laughed. Tink, always adaptive, joined in, until he learned what the laughter was about.

Now when Tink launches out on an adventure, some child will yell, "Deadpan!" and the group will freeze. The boy's imagination is grow-

ing far less robust, so that the treatment has had an effect. I admit that much more will have to be done, including positive ways in which group praise and recognition can be won. The game is, I repeat, the first step in a plan.

In justice to Miss Vann, she did make and execute a study plan, one that paralleled somewhat (but with more social content) the case study outline used by Rothney.³ Our chief comment is this. Teachers who use the group to motivate, guide, or control the individual must remember that it is easier to turn group pressure on than it is to turn it off. Group pressure can be a brutal, relentless force, far too heavy a load for children to bear.

Somewhere, in HR work for school personnel, a thorough study should be made of children's humor, a factor in the "deadpan" case. Wolfenstein⁴ interviewed 90 New York City children, aged four to twelve years. She asked them to tell her funny stories—jokes, rhymes, riddles, etc. This research might be reviewed and a less Freudian interpretation given to the data. A field study of humor would do much toward acquainting students with the nature and importance of fun in child life.

THE FACIALLY DISFIGURED

A type of physical handicap which has had too little emphasis in teacher education is facial disfigurement. A person so maimed, marked, or deformed may suffer as much or more than, say, the deaf or blind. McGregor puts the point well.⁵

Except when disfigurement is accompanied by a functional impairment such as harelip with cleft palate, these individuals do not necessarily suffer from organic or functional inability to perform the normal activities of daily living. Nevertheless, they are handicapped because of the way they look. The twisted mouth, the conspicuous portwine stain, or the peculiarly shaped nose may well be a barrier to the privileges and opportunities available to the non-handicapped.

³ John Rothney, *The High School Student: A Book of Cases*, Dryden, 1953.

⁴ Martha Wolfenstein, *Children's Humor*, Free Press, 1954. An extensive bibliography is given under Notes.

⁵ F. C. McGregor, "Some Psycho-social Problems Associated with Facial Deformities," *American Sociological Review*, 1951, 16: 629-630. Used by permission.

Such affliction, therefore, is more of a social handicap than a physical handicap, for the individual's suffering results from the visibility of the defect and what it means to others as well as to himself. It is the esthetic aspect alone which makes the problems of the facial cripple unique in some respects from those of other physically handicapped groups.

The writer is stressing, in effect, the profound significance in human relations of the human face. When persons meet, faces are the center of attraction or repulsion, of confidence or mistrust; and the memory of a face remains vivid long after a loved one has passed. To say a person is judged by his face does not go far enough; in many ways a person is the countenance he wears. The face is assumed to express him, to reveal his innermost nature and worth. To add that the biggest rascals one may ever know are individuals of most genial mien should not obscure the point. Face watching is a subtle form of human interaction, a most fascinating pursuit.

It is not easy to study facial contours among school children. Suspicions are strong, sensitivities run deep, and the risk of hurt is great. Among teen-agers in particular, facial attractiveness is a marked asset—the face of perfect shape, fresh and rosy skin, eyes that sparkle or have depths, pleasing nose and mouth and chin, the straight and well-brushed teeth as in any tooth-paste ad, the small and shell-like ears.

What do the disfigured think others think about them? Here are comments gleaned from many talks with pre-adolescents on the subject.

What the Disfigured Think Others Think

1. Girl, a harelip. "I've been asked if this runs in my family, or if my mother played with a rabbit or something."
2. Boy, a twisted mouth. "I'm a tough guy, see? Talk outta side of my mouth, gangster type. Kids mimic me, then haw haw. Lotta fun, huh?"
3. Girl, port-wine stain. "They say my parents have sinned and I must pay for it. I don't believe that is true, do you?"
4. Girl, recessive chin. "Miss Andy Gump, or Gumpy for short. Don't bother me none. Ma says don't give a damn about what they call you."

5. Boy, born with one ear. "They think this is hereditary, that I will pass it on to my children. I don't know what to think. Is it true?"

6. Boy, extreme acne. "A teacher says I eat too much candy, when I seldom touch the stuff. Boys kid about my sex life, say I abuse myself. Girls think I am unclean, say I don't wash. I guess it will go away when I grow up."

7. Boy, arrested face cancer. "Kids think I might contaminate them."

8. Girl, scarred from burns. "People say, 'You poor darling. Were you in a bombing or something? You would be pretty if it wasn't for that.' After I go to work and make some money, I plan to get a skin graft."

9. Girl, saddle nose. "I'm Killer Zazu, the Lady Wrestler. When they call me something, I crack right back at them."

10. Girl, excessive hair. "Some smarties ask me if I'm the new third sex. You know, the lady they turned into a man by giving her some monkey glands. I have tried a lot of things, but none of them work."

In these data it is plain to see that attitudes toward self go far back into childhood. Views derive in part from what parents say, in part from the remarks of teachers, but mainly from how other children feel. These other children are, to a limited extent, inventive. They are for the most part carriers of adult values, spokesmen of the community. It is always hard for grownups to remember that the very young can see and hear and feel, that any kind of absurd tale can be character forming. It can cause the normal child, the average, to differentiate himself from the unusual child or the afflicted and to count himself superior.

TEACHING THE HOMEBOUND

We imagine that, of all nations, the United States might prove to be most concerned with the poor, the sick, the handicapped. This attitude is reflected in the public schools. Handicapped children are taught there in increasing numbers, and they are taught in special schools and in their homes. Of these three possibilities, space permits inquiry into only one, home teaching of youngsters who cannot attend a school. The writer is a home teacher in Detroit.

Working with Crippled Children

At the time I write, Detroit has 19 home teachers, of whom all but three are women. We teach crippled children of all ages and some adults. We are part of the public school system, taking cases referred to the Oakman School, our central headquarters. Our waiting list is always long, a fact I am told is also true of most other large cities in the nation. Our services and facilities have been much expanded in recent years but are still inadequate.

The homes we visit are of every kind. They range from abject poverty to complete luxury, from remarkable intelligence to terrifying ignorance, from the best of morals to the worst things people do, from active cooperation to indifference and opposition. When conditions are found too intolerable, a referral is made to the Police Department, Board of Health, or wherever legal responsibility resides.

I have taught pupils from grades 1 to 12. The usual time is two 55-minute periods a week. Parents are expected to give at least this much time in tutoring, and many mothers spend far more. Stress in grade school is on reading, spelling, arithmetic, writing, and social studies. At the high school level we teach basic subjects such as English, history, and biology. Not only must teaching be adapted to the individual; it must be adapted to parents and to home conditions. I shall speak later about this point.

At present, I am responsible for 15 children, as follows:

Pupil	Grade	Age	Diagnosis
Carol.....	3B	8	rheumatic fever
Nancy C.....	2A	8	rheumatic fever
Nancy W.....	7B	14	renal rickets
Jo Ann.....	7A	13	rheumatic fever
Burse.....	8A	15	rheumatic fever
Robert.....	1A	16	hydrocephalus
Patricia.....	...	16	cerebral palsy
Mike.....	3B	10	asthma
Mary.....	11B	17	osteogenesis imperfecta
William.....	4A	12	spinal tumor
Gerry.....	8B	14	polio
Myra.....	6B	12	polio, muscular dystrophy
Lorraine.....	9B	17	pulmonary tuberculosis
Carolyn.....	1A	7	rheumatic fever
Margaret.....	7B	13	rheumatic fever

Some of these children have had home teaching through all their school life, others have been taught at home for several years, and a few are just beginning to be taught at home. Some, as they become able, will return to (or enter) special schools or perhaps regular public or parochial schools, but for many this prospect does not exist.

I shall now give several cases, starting with Marlene, a seven-year-old cerebral-palsy girl with whom I worked last summer. Marlene lives with her parents in a comfortable home on the east side of the city. Her father is a factory worker, a foreman, and her mother has had two years of college. There are a sister Pat and a brother Ed, both older than Marlene. She has very poor muscular control, poor speech, a very low IQ; yet we think she can be taught to cope with simple situations. That is, we are certain that her present condition can be bettered.

Marlene needs constant care. She is unable to dress herself or feed herself or use the toilet. She is, as a rule, strapped in a wheelchair. She is supposed to wear braces, which she seldom does wear, and to use her standing table as much as possible. When I took the case, the immediate problems were to correct these failures and to arrange for therapy treatments. The educational problem was to get the child started on 1A reading and 2A arithmetic. The psychological problem was, as usual, to build courage, persistence, hopefulness, i.e., motivation. Home conditions were not good, owing chiefly to the mother.

In the first two weeks, Marlene would reiterate "Mamma wants me to walk. Mamma wants me to walk." I explained to her and to Mrs. Anderson that walking is a complex act, that exercises must come first. Muscles must be strengthened and coordinated. Mrs. A objected to this view and persisted to the point where our department head had to settle the issue.

On these first visits, I would tape down books and papers on Marlene's standing table because of the girl's faulty hand control. Each day she would pull at the tape, saying, "My mamma says no. My mamma says no." Mrs. A expected the child to do her work without these aids. "Try, Marlene," she would say. "Try, try, try!" I asked her to stop putting such fearful pressure on the girl, but to no avail. Her feeling was that Marlene was not trying, which made her a "disobedient" child. Again I had to have the assistance of my departmental head, who threatened to have the child removed to an institution unless my ideas were given a test.

A month passed and I could not see any change in Marlene. She was not responding to me, not trying, as Mrs. A would say. One day

I brought my collie dog with me. Marlene laughed in glee when old Lady carried in the paper and laid it on her lap. She clapped her hands as well as she could, exclaimed in bursts of sound, and moved to pet the dog. From then on I brought Lady on almost every trip and found Marlene at the window watching for me. Before, she had tried to hide when I came.

Mrs. A had kept Marlene at filling in form pictures with crayons. "Don't get outside that line. There, you've done it again!" And at solving little puzzles. "Sure you can. See, you've stopped trying!" She had paid no attention to our manual on palsy care or to any of the materials I had brought her.

With Lady sitting beside us, Marlene and I began to write a story about the dog. Marlene would make up the story and I would write it. What color was Lady? What food did she eat? How old was she? How much did her food cost? Could she run fast? Why did she bark? Questions of this sort, just as Marlene thought them up. Each day we would agree on the one sentence, usually three or four words, which the girl was to copy into a book which she called "My Lady Book." By midsummer, she was a line ahead of my coming, with an original thought for me to see. We were also doing problems in arithmetic. If one can of dog food costs 10¢, how much do two cans cost?

In fairness, I should comment on Mrs. A. She was by no means unintelligent, and she was deeply devoted to Marlene. She felt, like so many mothers, that an affliction had been visited on her for reasons beyond her powers to understand. She was full of "folk say" about idiocy, most of which was injurious to the child. I was viewed as a threat to the established mother-child relationship, one of dependency. With medicine making such spectacular gains—for example, in the fight against polio—Mrs. A expected some miracle cure. Harsh as this may sound, I think she dreaded that such a cure might be found.

The report goes on to other cases. What is there about the use of a dog that broke the ice with this child, got learning started? Since the mother is destined to become the girl's real teacher, how can her confidence be fully won? What kind of home teacher can handle the cases for which Miss Howe, this teacher, is responsible? Such questions lead to special education, to a mastery of all that is known in this technical field.

REEDUCATING THE PUBLIC

The topic to consider, in conclusion, is one at which we have worked for several years. School personnel and others grow impatient with the public, with the slowness of people to accept new ideas about the nature of deviants, their education, care, and treatment. While folk say and folk practices are indeed resistant, they are undergoing change. They are yielding to the findings of medical, psychological, and social sciences, as various public surveys show.

The Roper poll of citizens of Louisville, Ky., on mental illness and its treatment is an example of the above research. A cross-sectional sample of 3,971 adult residents were interviewed, with main findings summarized by the chief survey analyst.⁶

Changing Ideas on Mental Illness

1. Louisville public attitudes are moving toward a humanitarian and scientific outlook on mental illness. The old ideas that the sick in mind were wicked and dangerous, hence to be avoided, or were ludicrous, hence to be treated as village clowns, have been replaced (to an extent) by the feeling that mental illness is *illness*, a disease which requires understanding and professional treatment. In poll data, the young (eighteen to twenty-four years) are much more humanitarian than the aged (forty-five and over) and much more knowledgeable in a scientific sense. The same holds for the educated, as against the uneducated (eight grades or less), and it is outstandingly true of the college group.

2. Data show that a strong majority of citizens no longer believes that "most mental illness is inherited," or that "most hospitals treat their patients very badly." The sense of stigma in reporting the sick or in discussing the sick with others is yielding to an attitude of frank and necessary communication. All things considered, this is a most hopeful sign.

3. When citizens were asked what should be done with a fifteen-year-old boy, a truant from school who had stolen a car, the trend of

⁶ Adapted from Julian L. Woodward, "Changing Ideas on Mental Illness and Its Treatment," *American Sociological Review*, 1951, 16: 443-454.

first replies was to punish him, send him to reform school, etc. When a boys' club was mentioned as one of six possible treatments, it got clear majority support. Reform school, whipping, etc., dropped to the bottom of the list. One can infer from this that social workers, health officials, teachers, and others have made headway in bringing the public to accept their general point of view.

4. It appears that psychiatrists are gaining general public recognition as a major resource in dealing with problem children. Four-fifths of the Louisville sample believed that the aid of psychiatrists was well worth having in cases of mental illness. The other fifth said, in effect, that other resources should be exhausted first. When the sample was told that the city planned to spend a sum of money to prevent mental disorders and then was asked to name four persons (out of 13 choice possibilities) who would advise the city on this program, selections were in rank order: (a) priest, minister, or rabbi; (b) family doctor; (c) psychiatrist; and (d) social worker. The businessman came far down on the list, and so did the school head. The schoolteacher was not mentioned.

5. The college educated were, to repeat, far ahead of other groups in their up-to-date attitudes on mental health. This superiority, it was felt, was due to two general influences: formal education and life experiences. Among the well-educated persons, which segment was most likely to provide leadership in developing mental health programs? Lawyers were believed to be most conservative, most likely to resort to repressive measures. Other professionals (especially teachers, doctors, clergymen) did not differ inter se in poll ratings as much as they differed from the lawyers. Schoolteachers were judged to be the most willing of all to see that young delinquents have psychiatric care and treatment.

Survey findings such as these are heartening. During the past few years, a considerable change has occurred in public attitudes toward persons with venereal disease, the war disabled, the chronic alcoholic. In industry there has been marked acceptance of the deaf, the amputee, the paralytic. It is reasonable to suppose that the time is not far distant when the public will understand better the plight of any youngster who differs from the normal, and more will be done than is done at present to further his optimal development. How to move faster toward these goals is a problem worth all the thought a classroom can give to it.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. How should the very talented be educated? Lead a class discussion of *Educating Gifted Children*, by Gertrude Hildreth et al., (Harper, 1952).
2. Recall Bobby, the nonreader. Appoint a class committee to interview one or more specialists on teaching remedial reading. Report to class, noting especially what account is taken of human relations.
3. Miss Howe, the Detroit home teacher, was responsible for 15 children who could not go to school. What special talents should this type of teacher have? In a paper to hand in, discuss this question in terms of BVKSJ elements.
4. Have you had experience in study designing? Plan in class, if your instructor approves, a survey of special education in local schools. Appoint a committee to do this research and to report to the class.
5. What local and national organizations work to educate the community on the nature and care of the handicapped? Should representatives of these groups be invited to address your class?
6. Do you like to read autobiography? Do you read on your own or wait for a reading to be assigned? Here are four inspiring self-reports:

Larry Alexander: *The Iron Cradle*

Christy Brown: *My Left Foot*

Terry McAdams: *Very Much Alive*

John McKee: *Two Legs to Stand On*

SELECTED READINGS

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2. Kornber, L.: *A Class for Disturbed Children*, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1955.
3. Lehner, G., and E. Kube: *Dynamics of Personal Adjustment*, Prentice-Hall, 1955.
4. Mead, M., and M. Wolfenstein: *Childhood in Contemporary Cultures*, University of Chicago Press, 1955, parts iv and v.
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6. Wood, Margaret: *Paths of Loneliness*, Columbia University Press, 1953.

CHAPTER 7

Issues in Intergroup Relations

To separate them . . . solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority . . . that may affect their hearts and minds in a way that is unlikely ever to be undone.

—U. S SUPREME COURT, 1954

Go slow now. Stop now for a time, a moment.

—WILLIAM FAULKNER

People the world around know that the United States is a democracy, the largest of the mass democracies. It is the home of the free, the land of opportunity, the advocate of civil rights and "due-process" law. Its flag symbolizes human equality—in substance, the American Creed, highest law of the land, the ideal toward which the nation strives. But, alas, Americans are human too. Our attitudes toward *some* people, our actions toward them, often fall short of our democratic principles. Nowhere is this lack, this lag, more evident than in the treatment of racial, national, and creedal minorities.

Most of our cases refer to race, chiefly to Negro and white relations. The second largest group of cases deals with religious creed, and the third largest with immigrant cultures. Since it is impossible to treat such diverse topics in one and the same chapter, stress will be on race, with some attention to creed. In addition to being the center of much conflict, race relations are undergoing change, a process that may end at long last, and for

all time, the American system of color castes, or castelike divisions of the population. Although such matters are difficult to discuss, creedal differences are even harder to handle in an objective way. A college group is indeed mature if its members can study both topics in relation to the schools.

CASES IN RACE RELATIONS

By *race* is meant a plant or animal stock, a breed, a type. In human relations the term takes on a different meaning. *Race* comes to mean a pattern of physical traits, mainly skin color and facial features, to which people impute mental, moral, and social differences. One race regards itself as superior and treats the others as inferior. The others may or may not accept this rating, depending on economic status, education, self pride, and other factors. Where it is accepted, the situation approximates that of in-marrying color castes.

That humans are human is a finding which may require some teacher guidance to make—and to make with an understanding of its full force. The writer of the next case is a teacher in a two-room school in an Indiana rural area. There were, before the event, no Negroes in her school district.

Rehofus Is Same as Us

Last year I taught in a rural school in southern Indiana. There were no Negro children in the district until the Marvel family moved in. News spreads in a rural area, and all my pupils (first to fourth) were excited. "There are lots and lots of them," a child exclaimed. "My mamma says six boys are coming here to school." "That's nice," I said. "We have 47 pupils now. How many will six more make us?"

Next morning there was a great hubbub in the school yard and a clatter in the hall as the group came in. "He's here," someone said. "Here he is," and a very small colored boy was shoved in my direction. The child was crying that he wanted to go home, and I led him to a seat. It was time to ring the bell, which I did. After riding herd on my young imps as they came in, I asked the new pupil to come to my desk. His name was Rehofus and I enrolled him in the second grade.

At recess I went out to the playground. The children had encircled Rehofus. They stared at him, asked him questions, and some touched his skin or hair. I broke into the ring and put my hand on the boy's shoulder, a familiar gesture to my children. "Rehofus," I said, "do you know how to play farmer in the dell?" Although he didn't answer, I had a hunch that he knew the game. "Who'll be farmer?" I had counted on the children to follow my lead and accord this honor to the new pupil. "Rufus, Rufus," the girls chanted, having misunderstood the boy's name.

For a while, the play went well, for "Rufus" did know the game. And then I saw a boy touch the child's brown skin and pretend that the color had rubbed off on his hand. Later on, a girl refused to hold the newcomer's hand as the group circled the farmer and his wife.

After recess was over and the children had settled down, I asked that all books be closed, that we have a *discussion*. "Boys and girls, do you know who made you?" Someone said, "God made us," and others agreed. "Yes, that is what we believe. God made everybody." Not sensing where this was going, the children waited. "Now," I continued, "who made Rehofus?" "God did," a second-grade girl said. "God made everything in the world. He made the moon and the Big Dipper, too. He made all the children there is."

This was too much for some of the older youngsters. "But," one said, "Rufus, he's black." "Now, is he?" I asked, and we all looked at the boy. A few pupils nodded yes, and others kept on looking.

"What color is our blackboard?" I was told it was black. I asked Rehofus to join me at the board so that everyone could see the difference between brown and black. Turning to a little girl named Beth, I asked the color of her sweater. When she said it was brown, I motioned her to come to us. I rolled up the boy's sleeve and placed his arm beside Beth's sweater sleeve, so that everyone could see the perfect match.

"Will every boy and girl please take a good look because we are going to have a vote." This was the way we settled big issues in the group, a custom the children felt was fair and honest and grownup. When I asked if the new pupil's skin was black, not a hand went up. When I asked if it was brown, every hand was up to count. "So, you see that Rehofus is brown. He is brown, and you and I are white. But aside from color of skin, he is the same as we are."

A few days later, Rehofus cut his scalp at play. Although the hurt was slight, two boys led him in to me, one boy on either side. "Blood," they said. "Ruf's blood. It ain't black. It's same as us." Lost

for a moment in this mystery, the boys were silent. And then, "Ol' Ruf didn't cry, didja, Ruf? Jeepers, we were having fun when the ol' swing rope busted!"

There are at least three points of interest in this case. First, the children were convinced about more than skin color. In another incident, too long for brief telling, in which Rehofus played a part, one little girl said, "People can be different from me *and* I can like them." These words are small but their meaning is very big. As a matter of fact, it would be hard to think of a more intelligent basis on which to found race-relations programs. If one can learn to expect racial differences, to respect and appreciate them, cooperative action is not only possible but predictable in a wide range of circumstances.

Second, teaching methods are worth noting. One is a definition of situation (appropriate action), as seen in the act by the teacher of putting her hand on the boy's shoulder, thus conferring status on him. Another is visual presentation, instanced in the issue of skin color. For many persons, young and old, seeing is believing, particularly where feelings are involved. The third method is group decision, a public affirmation of views and values. This procedure is often credited to Kurt Lewin, who in experimental work has proved its worth in securing behavior changes. It is a kind of contract between one and all, a commitment of the individual to his image of the total group.

Third, the treatment of Rehofus may lead a college class to make a study of the minority individual in relation to the majority group. We are convinced by repeated observations that many children in a minority group "try too hard," as Lewin has put it. They are too anxious to win status in the group; too tense, too sensitive, and at times overaggressive. Conversely, a study might be made of the demands and expectations of the majority group. Do white children expect a Negro child to do better, be better, than they are, if the Negro is to gain acceptance in their group? We suspect so. At any rate, it is well to learn now that person-to-group relations, or group-to-group, are parts of the same organic whole. The effects to be observed are the product of overt and covert interactions.

A large number of school cases deal with prejudice and discrimination. Any case will tend to highlight some of these difficult issues. The writer of the first report to be given is the Freemont School principal.

Electing a Homecoming Queen

Joe Jarvis, age sixty, is night janitor at the Freemont High School. He is a Negro, and although local attitudes toward the race are not good, Joe is regarded as an exceptional person. He has lived here all his life, and is well known and well liked. As principal of the high school, I have known Joe for some years and regard him as a fine worker, an intelligent and trustworthy man. The event I relate has to do with his daughter Sarah, a good-looking and popular high school senior.

I will confess that we ape the college in our town. Our big, annual Homecoming Day is patterned on this college event. There is the election of the Queen and her maids, a parade of floats, an alumni dinner dance, with all the fanfare and trimmings.

A little more than a month before Homecoming, I had a job for Joe to do. After we had finished our talk, he asked me if I would buy a ticket to the big game, and I did. He said Sarah was in the contest for Queen, and I said I hoped she would win. One vote for the Queen goes with each ticket to the football game, and the candidate who gets the most votes is elected Queen. Joe said he was going to work hard to sell all the tickets he could.

Joe sold about 70 tickets to the faculty. He sold 20 tickets at the college, and many more than that in the town's stores, shops, and offices. He took his afternoons for a week or so working on this, and I heard that the minister of the church (Negro) in which he is a deacon played up the contest and asked the congregation to support Sarah. When the votes were first announced, Sarah was well ahead of the other three candidates, who were white girls. It was two weeks before the ticket sales ended, so it was anybody's guess as to the final outcome.

A week before the big day, when it seemed that Sarah was sure to win, I had word that two of the girls, or rather their supporters, had got together, that a deal had been made. The leader in this arrangement was the father of one of these girls, a prominent Freemont businessman. I do not know what the bargain was, but there must have been one. The Homecoming Committee announced that any candidate, if she conceded defeat, could give her votes to anyone still in

the contest. One of these two girls gave her votes to the other, and the total, when it was added up, exceeded Sarah's.

Knowing that this was a frame-up, I protested the committee action in changing the rules of the contest on the home stretch, in a letter which this group of our students and alumni ignored. I then called Joe in and told him what I suspected, and he said that he had already been told. Asked what he was going to do, he shrugged his shoulders and said, "Sell more tickets, I guess."

Joe began to peddle tickets with a new vigor, driving out into the country and pressing hard on the members of his own racial group. He must have given the other side quite a scare. At any rate, on the day before the windup, the other white girl conceded and threw her votes to the one left in the race. The votes for this girl topped Sarah's total, and we knew Sarah had lost before the announcement was made.

On Homecoming Day, the Queen and her maids rode in the usual beribboned limousine, were presented at the game, and presided that evening at the dinner dance. I noticed that Sarah was not beside the Queen in the parade, in the rightful place of the runner-up, who becomes the first maid. Nor was Sarah at the evening festivities. Joe came to work early Monday afternoon, and I asked him about Sarah's absence from the game. He said she had not felt well, that the excitement was too much for her, so she had stayed at home. However, I did learn a week or so later that he had given a party in Sarah's honor on the evening of the Homecoming dance.

What is one to make of this case? Is it race prejudice? Would a white girl have been "framed" if she had led in votes as Sarah did? We asked this question of the school principal in a recorded interview.

Q: Do you think, Mr. Beck, that this is race prejudice?

A: As plain as plain can be. It wouldn't do in Freemont to have a Negro Homecoming Queen. So, Joe keeps getting votes, and the girl is framed.

Q: Would a white girl have been framed if she had led in the contest?

A: No, not at all. Mr. Gwinn is not like that.

Q: Mr. Gwinn is the father, isn't he, of the girl who conceded? Do you know him very well? Have you worked with him on school projects?

A: Yes, rather well. He has been on our school board. He is a very well-to-do man, prominent in civic affairs. He does a lot of good for Freemont.

Q: You got a tip as to how things had been planned, as I recall the case. Did you feel you had to take action to stop it?

A: Yes, the record shows that. I protested to the Committee. I called Joe in and explained it to him. That was all I could do.

Q: Yes. Could you have gone to Mr. Gwinn and told him what you knew? Might you have said, perhaps, that the newspapers had heard gossip, that a reporter had asked you to clear up the case?

A: Now, that is very far-fetched. First, I didn't know anything for certain, and I still do not know. Second, you don't talk to important citizens like that. No, what you propose seems extremely impractical.

In this talk and later, Mr. Beck seemed to us a sincere but perplexed man. He stands squarely for fair play yet feels caught in a network he is quite unable to alter. In his opinion, race prejudice is linked with "prominence" and "affluence" or, in our words, with *status*, *wealth*, and *power*. In one way or another, the system worked to defeat Sarah Jarvis and thus, by implication, to keep Negro citizens in what is called their "place"—that is, subordinate to whites. All the data considered, we are inclined to guess that it is good people like Mr. Gwinn who more than any other kind of citizen fasten this evil on the land, keep it active and alive.

PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION

What is the PD blight?¹ Why should schools oppose it? By *prejudice* is meant an "anti" feeling, a feeling of againstness, which applies to outgroup members because of who they are. *Discrimination* is the action side of prejudice. It is a way of behaving which clamps down on these persons, disadvantages them in fair competition, accords them less than equal opportunity. Four types of PD combinations (kind of individuals) are logical possibilities:

$$\begin{array}{l} P + D \\ UnP + UnD \\ UnP + D \\ P + UnD \end{array}$$

¹ For a good summary and interpretation of psychological data, see Gordon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*, Addison-Wesley, 1954.

A PD person is prejudiced and discriminates, say, a white teacher who dislikes nonwhite children and makes it hard for them. The unprejudiced nondiscriminator treats people as people, like the teacher in the "Rehofus" case. These two individuals are logical opposites, and each is consistent in terms of value orientations. The other two types in the paradigm are mixtures, lacking a compatible character structure. They are, in theory, prime targets for reeducation.

To return to the case, Freemont is a town of about 50,000. It would show, on study, much the same general structure as other Midwestern communities of this size. There would be a common culture and subcultures. There would be a number of organizational networks, each with its own reasons for being, its place in the scheme of things. Each network would function as a kind of subsystem of human relations within the community, interacting with other subsystems, overlapping them, at times competing, at times cooperating. It may be hypothesized, subject to field study, that various ones of these subsystems will be drawn together at the top into what can be called the "power structure."

So far as local power structures have been made known by research, each seems to be a web of interlocking leaderships. There is an "inner core" of possibly five to 10 leaders, and a peripheral "ring" of subleaders who connect the core to the community on action issues. It is these central power persons, men perhaps like Mr. Gwinn in Freemont, who make decisions affecting the public good. They act, to be sure, within the confines of broader power-value systems—notably, those of the state, the region, and the nation. These men are good men in their own self images and they act, or purport to act, in the public interest.

In their discussion of the Freemont case, students tend to center thought on its power phases. Some will make a K approach, seeking to increase their knowledge of prejudice. Others will be concerned with BVSJ angles. They know as well as anyone that any real school-led effort to better race relations will involve school personnel with the local power system.² It is instructive to have students take the case at the point where Mr. Beck protests committee action, and in panel discussion or by

² The "power system" is discussed in Chapter 15.

written papers, advise the school head on what, if anything, he should do to try to solve the problem.

DESEGREGATION AND INTEGRATION

In one sense, the critical interracial issues of the nation are posed in the concepts just stated. This situation arises most immediately from the U.S. Supreme Court decision in 1954, part of which will be quoted later. Before we go on to that, we need to understand the two concepts and to study a case of school desegregation.

By *desegregation* is meant, briefly, the removal of racial barriers. What is involved is a process of changing from a system of separate facilities for whites and Negroes (or other non-whites), a pattern enforced by and large by whites, to a system which makes no racial distinction. *Integration*, by contrast, implies voluntary association and value sharing. Thus integration is in essence a psychological process, a matter of personal choice, rather than a legal compulsion.

Having worked in the Fennel case, knowing it at firsthand, we shall consider that situation. The writer of the report is the superintendent of schools, a professional man, and a Southerner. Since this "change-over" is in process, the account is understandably vague at points which might draw attention to this community.

Desegregation at Fennel

Here, in this part of the South, we have debated with heavy hearts the Supreme Court decision of May, 1954. Fortunately, the Court action of June, 1955, has given us time to work out what is perhaps the biggest problem the South has faced since the War between the States.

There are, as everyone knows, various points of view. Some loyal sons urge a system of private schools, with parents paying the expense. A few persons assert that, under proper state legislation, Federal money can be diverted to these nonpublic schools. Other persons envision a trischool system: one set of schools for whites, one for the colored, and the third for both races if parents consent. Still other persons argue for gerrymandering school-district lines, much as has

been done apparently in big cities in the North. For my own part, I venture to say that in most places in this state the spirit of the Court decision will be carried out. That will take years, however—possibly a full generation.

In Fennel, plans to desegregate the schools have moved along. This has occurred, as you know, in spite of considerable opposition. The planning group has been, in the main, a "Better Schools Council," set up by the school board to advise it on racial matters. This is a citizen group, consisting chiefly of business and professional leaders. It should be added that the body contains Negro members—for example a businessman, a Methodist preacher, and a representative of the Negro PTA. The latter is Mrs. S, who organized the colored PTA and built it into an effective instrument of school-community cooperation.

In general, the aim at Fennel has been to develop a 5-year plan. The first year, this year, has been a planning period. Next year, we shall desegregate grades 1, 2, 3, and 4, with children attending their nearest public school until its enrollment reaches full capacity. Afterward, pupils shall attend the next nearest school, a principle which will hold for all school grades. During the year following, all other grades will be regrouped and a year later the same process will occur in junior and senior high schools. The fifth year will be devoted to study and discussion of desegregation, with recommendations to the board for revision and improvement in our school system if in the judgment of the Schools Council these are needed.

I have called this plan a philosophy of commonsense and gradualism. Neither of these words has much appeal to radicals in and out of the South. At various times, when I have been called in to advise the Council, I have said that no other plan is psychologically or administratively feasible at Fennel. I have stated, and I repeat now, that if we can desegregate faster, we will do so. I doubt, however, if we can. While we know, or think we know, what we are doing in this big change-over, much can be learned *only* as changes go into effect.

One feature of our plan is that it will give the public time to accustom itself to the idea of mixed schools. Another feature is that we, in the schools, and as instructed by the board, can assess our short- and long-run needs, and thus make recommendations for economical moves. Let me conclude by presenting some of the more serious problems we have faced or must face.

There will be district populations to estimate, two unfit Negro school buildings to condemn, two new grade buildings to construct, and later a new junior high school unit to build. There will be mate-

rials and equipment to purchase and to distribute. There will be some teachers to replace, those who cannot fit into an integrated school situation. There will be the problem of pupil grade placement in terms of ability, and consequent shifts in grade distributions and teacher loads.

There are other problems which, I am certain, are quite apparent—for example, parent cooperation with the schools. As far as I can see, the main issues facing the schools and the community are two. (1) Will our citizens continue to support this change, help the schools, parents, and others to make it work? I believe that our citizens will. Much of the talk over race is, and always has been, political. That is to say, promises are made to constituents on which the politicians cannot make good. (2) Our second biggest problem is financial. Our board can, perhaps, raise local taxes a little but not much. The Federal government, working through the states, will have to underwrite the added costs of desegregated schools.

The Fennel Schools continued the process of desegregation, having completed the change for the first four grades. There has been trouble with parents, and an antischools movement has developed, though it does not appear strong. The superintendent is a very popular school leader, with what his board calls "a sensible view on race." The Citizens Council, which is advising the school board, is a representative and informed community body, well able to serve what it has judged to be the common good of the town, the state, and nation. The board itself may prove to be a weak link in the chain, since two of its members are local merchants and can be badly hurt by adverse public reaction.

Other desegregation cases show quite different patterns, although we do not have the space in which to illustrate. Before reasoning on this issue, it is well to read a part of the Supreme Court decision.³

Unanimous Decision, U.S. Supreme Court, 1954

Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. . . . It is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life

³ *Brown v. Board of Education.*

if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.

We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does. . . . To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone. . . .

We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. . . .

It would be naïve to think that this decision was wholly unexpected in the South, yet its announcement was a distinct shock. The national picture at the time was as follows:

- 17 states (and District of Columbia) require Negroes to attend separate schools.
- 4 states authorize "local option" on segregation in public schools.
- 16 states prohibit segregation in public schools.
- 11 states have no specific laws on segregation.⁴

In a ruling it made in June, 1955, the Supreme Court left until later a decision as to compliance with the law. Main points were that the process of compliance (and enforcement) "be supervised by Federal district courts," "a prompt and reasonable start" be made toward integrated schools, and a caution that the principles at issue "cannot be allowed to yield because of disagreement with them."

In general, the South was divided by the decision of the Supreme Court. A few state governors and/or legislatures said that the state would resist desegregation by abandoning public

⁴ *U.S. News & World Report*, May 28, 1954, p. 22. For maps and tables, especially on educational and economic conditions, see this short, factual analysis.

education if that became necessary, a move that may be stopped by higher courts before it can be put into effect. Several states adopted a wait-and-see policy, with their action to depend on the outcome of cases before the courts for decision. In the main, Southern states began to comply with the law or to name a "reasonable time" at which they would do so.

In a large number of places, desegregation and integration has moved far along. At the nation's capital, the public school system had started to plan for desegregation years before the Supreme Court ruling.⁵ School personnel had been encouraged to attend conferences and workshops on democratic human relations. In 1952, the superintendent's office had issued a manual about these activities, prepared by a teacher committee. Negro and white school heads and teachers, although in a biracial system, had met together for some years to design school projects and programs. Local workshops had been held to create better school and community understandings.

At once after the Court ruling, President Eisenhower directed the District Commissioners to set the wheels in motion for desegregation. About three weeks later, the board of education issued a firm policy on behalf of a single, unified system of education. Without more ado, pupils were shifted and school faculties integrated, where this was appropriate. At McKinley High School, the only serious trouble was in interracial dancing. Given this issue to work out, the student council after due study canceled the school's Christmas dance for that first year. Since then, tension has greatly lessened, and all school proms are for all school students. There is, by student agreement, no interracial dancing, a matter left to the faculty to supervise.

It will be recalled that added school costs were predicted at Fennel, a condition true where Negro schools have been neglected. In Washington, there was "no appreciable" increase in cost due to desegregation. In St. Louis, a saving of half a million dollars has been claimed and in the state of Missouri, a saving of from eight to 10 million for the first year.

⁵ As reported in conference by the superintendent of schools, the principal at McKinley High School, and others. See *Current Problems and Issues in Human Relations Education*. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, New York, 1955, pp. 25ff.

There is, we believe, no one way to desegregate, no rules which go beyond common sense. Although decision making should involve the total community, the authority to act is lodged by law in the board of education. Desegregation is more likely to go well if board decision is clear and firm. The prospect of organized citizen opposition should be considered in advance, and a plan made to meet it if it does arise. All that scholars and practical men have ever learned about democratic problem solving is relevant to this very trying, very important change process.

TEACHING ABOUT RELIGIONS

It may appear anticlimactic to move from race to religion, but this is not really true. Creedal issues, as was said, are not easy for a college group to explore and discuss. To vary writing practice, we shall first draw up a list of the main problems found in case materials.

Type of Problem or Issue

1. Bible reading in public schools. Cases range from complete denial to required reading. Old or New Testament? With or without comment?
2. Observance by schools, or its lack, of religious holidays. Christmas, Hanukkah, Good Friday, Ash Wednesday. Salute to the flag. Pledges.
3. Pupil moral conduct at, to, and from school; language and behaviors. Character building and the public school. Teaching moral ideals.
4. Church opposition to teacher views, instruction, and curricular materials. Disagreement with school-board or administrative policy decisions.
5. Church demands on children for time. Released time programs. Clashes with school schedule and/or extracurricular activities.
6. School participation, or lack of it, in interfaith activities, such as Brotherhood Week and Race Relations Sunday. Religious tolerance.
7. Federal aid to public and nonpublic (church, church-related) education. Support of the school's auxiliary services.

A number of cases show efforts to bring religion and morals into public schools, that is, to teach religion as a phase of culture,

and to keep creedal viewpoints out. We have given elsewhere a lengthy case of this kind, an account of a joint school and community program,⁶ and there is no need to repeat that type of material. The best argument against any teaching of this sort, no matter what safeguards are used, is probably found in the writing of Thayer.⁷

The case we shall give does not, it seems to us, fall in the field of active controversy. It is a school service to community, with a religious theme, thus not beyond pro and con debate. Our concerns are with its technical features and human relations problems. The writer is a music major, a talented girl, and this is her first year in public school teaching. She directed the chorale.

Christmas Chorale

An Experiment in School-community Cooperation

When I accepted the Woods Point position, my teaching was to be limited to the usual five classes, three of these in Public Speaking and two in Advanced Voice and Diction, and to coaching senior forensics and dramatics. How I extended this assignment to cover what now appears to be an annual Christmas chorale is the subject of this paper. My main interest is organizational, that is, how to conduct projects of this kind, so that I shall make this emphasis in my report.

With an exciting summer behind me, including visits to Stratford on Avon and other European centers of dramatic art, I was eager to experiment in mass chorales. No extravaganza, no star system, no glossy TV show, no outside talent if its use could be avoided. Just high school students and staff, an honest amateur production, the best we could create. The project would be jointly sponsored by school and community. It would combine music, dance, speech, dramatics, and various forms of stage art. It might reach into other school departments, for example, journalism.

Early in October, I broached the subject to Mr. Ross [principal], who asked me to sketch a general plan. This plan was taken to Superintendent MacLane for his approval. Consent was immediate and enthusiastic, "providing the project finances itself," for the state of

⁶ Lloyd and Elaine Cook, "Teaching about Religions," *Intergroup Education*, McGraw-Hill, 1954, pp. 265-270.

⁷ V. T. Thayer, *The Attack upon the American Secular School*, Beacon Press, 1951.

the budget, etc., etc. Mr. Ross brought the discussion to the point where three-fourths of the cost was to be met by ticket sale, with the remainder taken from a school supplemental fund. This "angel" was never needed, for the chorale paid expenses and left a small surplus for the coming year.

Having the green light to go ahead, I called a meeting of persons who I knew should be consulted at the start. Our task was to set up a large and permanent school-community group. That group could then select its own small policy committee and the several working committees which would be needed. As things turned out, these latter committees—or subcommittees of the whole—consisted of team groups on the following topics:

Program	Ticket sales
Costumes, stage sets	Performance, with a repeat
Rehearsals, coaching	Evaluation of the project
Sponsors, publicity	Plans for the coming year

I am puzzled now as to how much detail to give. For example, the policy committee, or planning committee, as it came to be called. Since one major aim was to coordinate various school departments in staging the chorale, it appeared that a representative of each skill and content area [music, dance, et cetera] should be invited to serve in this group. Also since it was imperative to secure community support, the policy committee needed to include representatives of local area groups, such as the churches, PTA, businessmen, and club women. By common consent, Superintendent MacLane was invited to appoint a representative, and it pleased us that he asked Mr. Ross to serve.

After many discussions, this committee worked out the following points as over-all policy:

1. Chorale to depict the religious theme of the Nativity, with emphasis on the brotherhood of man, the love of God, peace on earth, and good will.
2. Nativity tableau to climax the program, with major stress on sacred music rather than on dramatic and speaking parts.
3. No outside talent. Students and faculty to take all parts, with casting based strictly on interest, ability, and performance.
4. Program to be simple enough from a technical viewpoint so that it can be fitted together in one final full-dress rehearsal.
5. If talent misses two consecutive practices without excuse, the individual must appear before a subcommittee for a hearing; otherwise the person will be dropped from the cast.

6. Chorale to be evaluated from start to end and in terms of (a) student learnings and reactions, (b) faculty and administrative assistance and support, and (c) community cooperation and appreciation.

Instead of elaborating each of these points, I shall turn to some of our problems. These were of two kinds, technical and human. The technical ones comprised such matters as choreography, set composition, a lighting arrangement, music arrangements, and the like. We found nothing here that could not be worked out, though I admit we seldom reached professional standards.

The human problems are harder to describe. We had several petty cliques, some strong interpersonal jealousies, and once or twice a period of low morale, a general shirking of responsibilities. We felt it wise to clear the script with local churches and were able, fortunately, to make the rather minor revisions that were requested. This action had the good effect of publicizing the event and winning church support. It had the bad effect of interesting several choir directors and soloists in the chorale, some asking directly or else moving in roundabout ways to secure a part. We had school departments which worked long and hard, and others which were all but indifferent.

On Saturday evening a week before Christmas and again on Sunday evening, the chorale was presented to capacity audiences. It was staged each time without serious fault though, as I have said, the work lacked the grace and depths of even an average professional performance. The scenes were alive, and simple, and different, as comments then and letters since have disclosed. We had what, in other circles, would be called a good public and a good press.

Our evaluation committee is now at work. Out of its report and our experience, we shall plan next year's production. We no longer feel like amateurs, though we still have much to learn. Our aim for the future is better—not bigger—Christmas chorales, with more student and faculty participation, plus larger and larger community support and attendance.

This is a type of school service which many school publics approve and support. In handling the case, music and dramatic-arts majors might brief a college class on the technical side of program production. Other students may wish to analyze the human relations problems manifest or latent in the report, including the cooperation of community religious groups. Good skill training in research operations can be secured by working out the evaluation plan mentioned by the case writer.

INTERGROUP EDUCATION

In concluding, attention should be called to the slow but sure emergence of a new field in social education, that of intergroup relations. Publications, including textbooks, are appearing with enough frequency and variations to show that the area is alive, that it is being organized for teacher-training uses. Research in the field has far outrun its diffusion into college courses of study, seminars, and workshops, which suggests the need to close the gap.

What has just been said applies strongly to teachers in big-city schools, such as San Francisco, Chicago, and Detroit. Many of these teachers were reared in places, mostly in rural areas and small towns, where their contacts were almost wholly with members of their own race, creed, and social class. Unless their college training takes this fact into account, school personnel are ill prepared to deal with the heterogeneity and mobility of metropolitan life, the meeting and mingling of all the many people who make up the nation. A definite, basic course devoted exclusively to intergroup relations is no substitute for lifelong experience, yet it has on students a measurable, appreciable effect.

Most textbooks in intergroup education center on the concepts of race, religious creed, immigrant peoples, and perhaps social class. All such works would seem to have a pro-minority-group bias, an essential sympathy with the underdog. Some state frankly that, in the author's opinion, ethnic, creedal, and national groups have had to bear the brunt of the nation's search for decency and justice in human relations, the attempt to equalize civil rights. All challenge the polite fiction that any thoughtful person can be neutral in the struggle for equality and opportunity and self-respect. All ask that schools and college take a more active part in this ever-changing, never-ending movement.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Are there foreign students on your campus? Organize a panel discussion of their human relations problems. Secure several of these students as panel members.

2. Is Rehofus really "same as us"? In what ways, yes; in what ways, no? Should children be taught how they are alike, or how they differ as individuals or as populations, or taught all three of these things? Give reasons for your point of view.

3. What is intergroup education? Review for class either reference No. 5 or reference No. 6 in the chapter bibliography. State frankly your reactions to the book.

4. How can minority-majority conflict and tension be reduced? Summarize for your class the main points made by J. P. Dean and A. Rosen in *A Manual of Intergroup Relations* (University of Chicago Press, 1955).

5. Write a paper telling, first, whether or not the Fennel schools should have desegregated; second, how this could best have been done; and third, your own predictions as to racial integration in that community.

6. The legal aspects of religious education, although rather technical, are very interesting. Report to the class on Leo Pfeffer's "Religion in the Upbringing of Children" (*Boston University Law Review*, 1955, 35: 333-393).

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CHAPTER 8

Mass Media, Uses and Control

The image of the child is replete with frustration . . . and longing for the pleasures of the adult which are not yet for him.

—MARTHA WOLFENSTEIN, *Comment on French Culture*

It is a curious fact that at a time when communications have reached an all-time peak, there is less understanding among people than ever before. Some persons blame—and some defend—the agencies of mass impression, chiefly the Big Four—the press, radio, TV, and movies. The Big Four are viewed as a machinery for piping news to the masses, alerting everyone to events, furthering worthy civic causes, and providing needed entertainment. On the other hand, these same agencies are said to flood the nation with trivia, batten on alarms, level down tastes and morals, and create dream worlds which the young mistake for the real thing, for life as it is.

This is the background of chapter interests, a field that might well be covered by a student team in a report to the class on communications research. The chapter plan is to select a few cases related to mass media—the contact of the young with these influencers of attitudes and behaviors, some media uses in the schools, and the problem of media effects in relation to group values and controls. The Hovland reference in the bibliography would be a good one on which to make a report.

CONTACTS WITH MASS MEDIA

What are called "contact data," the exposure of the young to mass media, are variable, changeful over time, and scattered in more or less current periodicals. Given access to a reader's guide, they are easy for a college class to obtain. We shall cite a single survey, a study of TV, to illustrate the kind of trend data which are relevant.

In 1950, 43 per cent of the grade school pupils in Evanston, Illinois, had TV sets in their homes.¹ In 1951, 68 per cent had sets and 88 per cent had access to sets; and in 1953, the access figure was 92 per cent. Time spent in use of television in this and other nearby suburban communities is seen in Table 3.

Table 3. Average Hours Spent Weekly with TV

Group	1950	1951	1952	1953
Elementary school pupils.....	21	19	22½	23
High school pupils.....		14	14	17
Parents.....	24	20	21	19
Teachers.....		9	11	12

SOURCE: Paul Witty, in *School and Society*, May 15, 1954.

Every set of figures we have seen on radio and television shows their increasing use by children and adults. Much the same is true for other mass media, though to a lesser extent. None has the potency of TV and radio in assembling audiences, in making possible the largest massing of people ever known.

Teachers are inclined to take for granted the exposure of their pupils to radio, movies, comics, and the like. At times, however, the fact is impressed on them in somewhat novel ways.

Toys for Korea

It is our custom to use about 10 minutes at the start of a school day to talk over whatever pupils want to bring up. Shirley handed me a news clipping, asking that I read it to the class.

The news article was about a former high school student, a young

¹ Paul Witty, in *School and Society*, May 15, 1954, p. 150.

sergeant who had just returned from the Korean War. He had been stationed at Pusan, where he had helped to set up a child-care center for Korean boys and girls. The Army had provided these children with food, clothing, shelter, and medical care; and it also had plans for a school. What these youngsters didn't have, perhaps had never had, were playthings. The sergeant was quoted on this, and he asked the town to send toys to Korea.

As we talked over the idea, the children liked it. Why not send our toys, all we could spare? Someone had a doll, her second best, which she would give. There were another doll, a lot of story books, some marbles, and a "broke down scooter," which the owner was sure he could fix.

Seeing that the idea had caught on, that everyone had something to give, I said we should speak to our principal. I explained that the gathering, packing, and shipping of toys should be organized.

The teacher goes on to tell how her school went into the toy business, complete with basement repair shop and packing center. This activity led directly to another, a lively exchange of letters between her pupils and some Korean schoolchildren.

Blood Typing at Kalman

We were asked to announce the blood-typing project, and to prepare our rooms for the periods scheduled for it. The problem was to get the pupils ready for it, yet not to scare them. I knew this might not be easy, for fourth graders spook at almost anything. There is much to panic them in these times of war and threat of war, so I worked up a little speech.

On the day before our turn came, I spoke to the room. I explained how our city would be a bomb target, and hence our need for civilian defense. An important part of this was to take a drop or two of one's blood to see what kind it was, to study it. Everybody was to have this done, all the children and adults. The reason was a very good one. If anybody met with an accident, then his blood type would be known. Someone could be found, a donor, to give him blood, or it could be taken from a blood bank. In this way, his life could be saved and he would, we hoped, get well very fast.

I added that our turn came tomorrow at the second period. After giving each pupil a consent slip to take home for parent signature, I asked if there were any questions. As always, there were.

Would it hurt very much? Where would the needle be stuck in? How big was the needle? Did you, Miss Orr, do it? Did it hurt very much? I'll bet you cried, didn't you? Well, I'm betting Betty Ann will cry. I won't neither cry. You will cry, you crybaby!

Came the day and I gathered in consent slips. I saw that something was wrong, that a full third of the class were not turning in slips. Since only two pupils had given me notes in which parents denied consent, I figured the kids were holding out for reasons of their own.

Since we were the second room on the schedule, there was no time to lose. "All right," I said, "what's wrong?" Silence, then some snickering among the boys. "Sidney, what happened? Did something happen after school?" No reply. "Betty Ann, where is the slip your parents signed?"

Little by little, the kids began to talk, and the whole story is a bit fantastic. A number had gone to the corner movie, which was featuring a program for children. The main show was *Sailor Beware*, starring two popular comics. In one scene, Jerry Lewis takes a navy physical exam, including a blood test. When the doctor tries to draw blood, no blood is found. He tries again, and then again, at which other doctors are called in. As they keep jabbing away, the size of the needle grows and grows, until it becomes a spear. The medics go on probing, and Jerry keeps groaning, but all that ever comes is a clear liquid, signifying no blood. But now the audience is, no doubt, howling. I went to see the show and it is a scream.

But back to the story, Jerry's groans and moans increase. The doctors keep stabbing until at last he faints away. He is given a glass of water and revives enough to wobble to his feet. Lo and behold, water spurts from every needle prick! This was the ludicrous gag that had scared the kids. It was make-believe, as they knew full well, yet much too real to be funny at this moment in time. When the warning bell sounded, I knew I had to make a final, desperate try.

"Listen, everybody. What we need are some leaders in this group. Who will lead us to get our blood typed?" "You lead," someone said. "All right," I replied. "But I do think this is a man's job." "The boys are afraid," said Betty Ann, who still had not turned in her slip. "We ain't afraid, neither," several boys shouted. "I'll lead," said one. "No, I'll lead," clamored another, and the scrap was on to see who would be group leader.

There was no more trouble. My one regret was having to take out of line the children whose parents had refused to sign the consent slips.

Cases go from here into more serious matters, for example, behavior-problem children, the emotionally disturbed, and the delinquent. Teachers claim effects much like those found in the Blumer and Hauser study, to be cited later. Although we doubt if cause-effect-cause relations can be this simple, that issue can be postponed for the present.

TELEVISION IN SCHOOLS

Most teachers are acquainted with the audio-visual field and many find such aids, devices, and materials invaluable in their teaching. Unless one has kept up with developments, present offerings are startling. For example, the showroom set up by exhibitors at the annual NEA convention.

The "3-D" Classroom

Here is the magic of television, greatest innovation in education since the days of the first hornbook. School people ogle the exhibits, asking questions, disbelieving at times what they see and hear. A sobering fact is the much publicized finding that 75 per cent to 95 per cent of children's recall is visual.

A mere cataloging of the display would fill pages. There is a very modern TV set with an invitation to test it. There are tape recorders of several kinds, all advertised as revolutionizing schooling. Movie cameras are much in evidence, as are different sorts of projectors, screens, films, filmstrips, and the like. Nearby are illuminated globes and maps, textbooks and charts. There is an electric gadget which permits a teacher to sit at his desk and view the films he wants to sort out for exhibit to a class.

Charts and boards are many and varied. In the flip chart, a page is turned automatically; in the strip-tease chart a teacher uncovers a line at a time. In the transparencies, overlaps fall upon an illuminated base chart or map, showing concentrations and dispersions of data. Lucite boards, to be written on with a grease pencil, glow like a signal light. Felt boards are the ones on which cutouts stick without tacks, glue, or pins. Items are pushed on and can be changed about at will.

Room design and equipment are novel. Lights are recessed into ceilings and walls at different angles, colored, shaded, and varied in intensity. Some are automatic, turning on and off as needed. Lab sinks, cabinets, and bulletin boards are built into walls in convenient

arrangements. The doorjambs of rooms are fitted without sills so that heavy equipment can be moved. Windows are of all shapes and kinds, side and overhead, designed to maximize sunlight yet to protect against it. Tables take various forms, each built to be separated into units for small groups and then joined for the class as a whole.

Obviously, schools are offered a Pandora chest of marvels. Their use of television in instruction, while still in its infancy, is already extremely varied. One example is, perhaps, sufficient.

TV in Philadelphia Schools²

There are by count 350 television sets in use in city public schools, and at least 20,000 sets in schools within the metropolitan area.

The first TV program is at 10:30 each school-day morning. It consists, as a rule, of regular school subjects, such as music, art, literature, history, math, and health. Lessons are taught by teachers who are selected as outstanding in their field, and classes are used often in demonstrations. Students are briefed ahead of the telecasts, thus are prepared to receive and use the programs.

In the week audited by the writer, each day had a feature program. Monday was music day. Throughout city schools, pupils saw and heard other pupils solo and in groups, perhaps sang and played along with them. Tuesday was art work, particularly block print, and on Wednesday, the Civic Ballet was featured. On Thursday, a trip via TV was taken to museums, and on Friday, children viewed plays, followed by panel discussions.

Before classroom sets are turned on, teachers explain what the program is about and points to look for. After the telecast, the group discusses items of interest, perhaps initiates a similar activity. Teachers believe that TV gives a reality to instruction, an immediacy, not found in routine teaching. Children are stimulated to speak more clearly and with greater fluency, to observe more carefully, and to think more deeply. The best in pupil talent and in teaching practice can be seen, heard, and studied in every school.

Television is still new in school use and perhaps no one can foretell how valuable it will become, particularly as enrollments rise and teacher shortages grow more severe. What, as of now, do teachers think of TV? Recently, we asked our classes, in all

² From the *Saturday Review*, Feb. 19, 1955, pp. 32-33.

1,028 students, to rank eight instructional tools in order of most-to-least worth in classroom use. It should be said that less than 10 per cent of this sample had had experience with telecast teaching. Table 4 shows average (mean) group ratings.

Table 4. Teacher Rating of Teaching Tools as to Worth

Teaching tools	Graduate students*	Juniors, seniors†	Majors in audio-visual educ.‡
N =	546	410	72
Basic textbooks.....	1	1	2
Films, filmstrips.....	3	3	1
Tape recordings, records.....	6	5	4
Workbooks, manuals, resource units.....	2	2	6
Educational TV.....	7	4	3
Boards, charts, maps, globes.....	4	6	5
Commercial radio and TV programs.....	8	8	7
Newspapers and all periodicals.....	5	7	8

* Over two-thirds are inservice teachers; all have teaching experience.

† About a fifth are doing practice teaching; others have had no experience.

‡ Three-fourths are experienced teachers, averaging 4.5 years of service.

Textbooks are still rated the best of teaching tools, except with audio-visual majors, who rank "films, filmstrips" first, owing in part, we believe, to the emphasis placed on these by their very active departmental chairman. Television is rated third, fourth, and seventh, a rating quite likely to change as TV teaching advances—as it is doing—in metropolitan areas. One is impressed with the great variability in ratings, and it would be instructive to repeat the study with student groups in the future.

TEACHER USE OF AUDIO-VISUAL AIDS

From a large number of cases under this heading, we shall select two to print. The first calls attention to the corner movie, a neglected teaching aid.

Using the Corner Movie

Most of our junior high boys and girls attend movies regularly, some as often as three times a week. All kinds of learnings go on and

teachers cannot afford to neglect so vital an experience. My impression is that most of us do little with the corner movie, or else destroy its values by improper handling. One must, of course, see a film he plans to use.

Two films are illustrative. One is *Crossfire*, the other *Gentlemen's Agreement*, based on Laura Hobson's novel of this title. After students have had a chance to see such shows as these, ask them in class what good movies they have seen. They may or may not name the current film; if not, ask directly if anyone has seen it. Then, "Did you like it?" followed by the usual questions of why or why not?

This is enough, as a rule, to start a discussion. If it isn't, a student can be asked to see the show and report, or this can be made a committee task. Class discussion should be held to specifics, after which generalizations can be made in terms of life experiences.

To pose an issue for discussion, a teacher can tell about some incident. In *Gentlemen's Agreement*, Phil, a writer, is assigned to do a series on anti-Semitism in the United States. He reads some books, does some thinking, yet is unable to uncover an angle of approach. What approach to this problem would the school class have made? The point is to sample what students know and how they happen to feel about Jews and non-Jews.

A word of caution is relevant. Students cannot be pushed into deep and honest thinking, nor can real feelings be simulated. If they do not respond freely, do not try to force them. Tell another incident, ending in a question. A relaxed atmosphere, an invitation to take hold, is bound to start things off.

To return to Phil, tell about the scene in which he is discouraged and says he must give up the assignment. Ask students if they remember why he cannot go ahead. Give them time to recall but if they fail, prompt them. "I can't write," Phil says, "because I've never felt it." Felt what? Do students have any clear idea of what it means to be a member of some minority group?

A good movie will abound in life situations. Recall Phil's talk at the breakfast table with his young son. The subject is hate; why some people hate some people. Was Tommy given a good explanation? Had you, the student, been in Phil's shoes, what would you have said? Or take another angle. Was Tommy wise in asking about Jews? Is it better not to raise such questions, to let such touchy subjects alone? How do students think human relations are ever to be made any better than they now are?

To continue, there were characters in the movie whose ideas about

Jewish Americans differed from Phil's. Who were these persons? Were Dave, Miss Wales, and Dr. Lieberman alike in their attitudes? By what sort of life experience, what course of events, do such people arrive at their views? Were Kathy and Phil's mother like Dave and the others? How do people develop their values? Is there anything more important than that to know about them?

Any serious movie, book of fiction, or form of drama, sets up a situation which is most useful in human relations education. Under this cover, students can discuss their views and values, their anxieties and aspirations. They can identify with characters, project into them what they want to say but cannot say on their own. This holds only if their teacher, as in the preceding case, is very wise. It is usually a mistake to smoke persons out of cover, for they are often most themselves when they have for the moment a fictional mask to hide behind.

The next case is rather long. The writer teaches the fifth grade in a big-city slum area. "What, if anything," she asks, "have I been able to teach about sportsmanship?" The question may prove difficult for a classroom group to answer.

Teaching Good Sportsmanship

To introduce the unit on "Good Sportsmanship," I showed a classroom film by this title and followed it with an evaluative discussion, as recommended to us by the superintendent's office.

Gordie's hand was the first one up. "Gordie, what do you have to tell us?" He made the point that a good sportsman knows the rules and obeys them. We began then to list the rules and, as points were made, I wrote them on the board. Play fair. Accept the ump's decision. Do not fight. Do not rat. Respect your competitor. Do not swear. Get a lot of sleep. Do not trip. Learn to be a good loser. Keep out of fights. Do not drink cold water when you are hot. Play hard to win. Put Mercurochrome on a cut.

Almost all these were items from the film, which I thought we had covered very well. Nicolai spoke up. He said he didn't believe in these rules, that big athletes didn't follow them. Louie agreed with him and Gordie argued against them both. "I am right," said Nicolai. "I am right, all right," at which everyone laughed. He told about some pitcher with the Yankees who had "hit a guy" and been benched for

a week. Doreen backed up Nicolai. She named a girl in the sixth grade, who, in a roller-skate derby downtown, had "bumped" a competitor, then fought with her. The crowd had cheered, but she was put off the floor. They stood up and cheered when she won the next race.

Allan, fortunately, brought us back to the film. "Remember, Miss Hinton, in the movie where a guy trips a guy? Well, he was sorry, wasn't he? He didn't mean to do it." The boy paused, and I nodded to him to go on. "Well, like I said. Any guy can make a mistake. It's *who* is sorry that counts." I agreed with this. I said that sometimes rules were broken, yet they were still the rules. Good sportsmen keep the rules. People like these persons and they get ahead in whatever they do. I named several famous athletes.

The discussion prepared the group, Miss Hinton believed, for a reading assignment. The search was for books on great athletes, such as *The Joe Louis Story*. After this reading, a trip was planned.

Although the reading had gone well, something more was needed, some contact with reality as a test of learnings. We talked over several possible trips and decided on a Saturday afternoon ball game. The Giants had a home game on Saturday a week, and we settled on that. With so little time, I began to make arrangements that same afternoon.

On Saturday, we met at 12:30 at the school building. As the children assembled, there was the usual pushing and shoving. All the kids were excited and wanted to get started. When the school bus pulled up, two boys climbed in a window before either the driver or I could stop them. I lined up the pupils and saw, to my surprise, that three extra persons had, somehow, sneaked in.

There was simply no managing the group as they boarded the bus. Two girls were pushed down, both being rather badly bruised, and the driver had to take hold of a boy or two. Although I could scarcely make myself heard, I shouted that there would be no trip unless the group behaved.

We were late and the game was on when we got to the park. The kids piled out and raced like mad for the stadium gate. Since I held the tickets, they were checked until I got there. I lined them up and, as well as I could, marched them in and to our seats. Once seated, every group member (I think) bought something—popcorn, peanuts,

hot dogs, pop, ice cream; and some had come with their pockets loaded with odds and ends. They ran in and out of their rows, jumped up on their seats and yelled, climbed up a steel girder, acting like hoodlums. They disturbed two men behind us so much that the men swore at them and threatened to have them put out of the stadium.

There is no use, I suppose, to keep on detailing this. The experience was a nightmare, and never again will I take these kids on a trip, not ever! I will tell one more incident, the climax, in a sense.

The Giants were in a slump and the game was not too exciting. When the ump called a close one at the plate, the bleachers went up in a roar. So, too, did the fifth graders. When a woman tossed out a pop bottle, the kids let loose with everything they had. They threw bottles, boxes of popcorn, ice cream cones, along with some rocks and I think a knife or two. There was nothing I could do to quiet them down. When two of the boys, Nicolai and Ernie Goth, got smart with two policemen, the latter took them by their collars and led them out.

I need not add that all this has left me pretty bitter. I worked hard on the unit; I tried to make it go. What, if anything, have I been able to teach about sportsmanship? Where did I do wrong? How can one educate kids like these? I would be very much pleased if our class would discuss this case.

What, if anything, did this teacher do wrong? How can a pupil group like this be handled? What alternative procedures might be suggested to Miss Hinton, to any teacher who faces this kind of problem? Would a system of group captains help? Might some parents have been taken on the trip? Was there planning for this trip, with a set of rules and understandings worked out in advance? Is the teacher herself unrealistic, perhaps idealistic would be a better word? What we wonder most is whether reading the next case in the chapter would have given the teacher a better insight into the attitudes and behaviors of these urban boys and girls.

THE PROBLEM OF GROUP CONTROL

The case to be given is, in some ways, comparable to the report just cited. The material is a tape-recorded interview with the manager of a big-city downtown theater. Mr. Winrith tells how he has been able to control the behaviors of rowdy youngsters at weekend matinees for them.

The Kids Run the Show

Q: I have heard a good deal about you, Mr. Winrith. The Saturday matinees for children. I have heard the kids are in control.

A: Yes, more or less.

Q: I am not sure I understand that.

A: Yes. The kids and I work it out together. We got a system set up. No troubles now at all.

Q: What troubles were you having?

A: The usual kind. Loud, bad-acting kids. Yelling, sneaking in, throwing things, smoking dope. I had one girl who undressed for the boys.

Q: Kids are pretty bad. Worse here than other places, I guess.

A: Not at all. Kids are kids. You don't get mad at a kid when you know the parents are to blame. I wouldn't say either that the schools do much.

Q: Will you tell how you took hold of this. What did you do?

A: It was me or the kids. When I can't lick 'em, I join 'em.

Q: I don't understand, I'm afraid.

A: I tried getting tough. I policed the show. It didn't work, so I tried something else.

Q: What was that?

A: What was what? Now I'll ask you a question. What would you do? You know kids. Same everywhere. If you had a big investment to protect—

Q: I don't know offhand. Guess I'd try to get them with me in planning things. Make the show part theirs.

A: Right you are. That's all I ever done. We have a mike there on the stage. Used to use it in vaudeville. Hauled it out and spoke to the kids. Told them I wanted them to run the show.

Q: How did they react?

A: The Bronx cheer. Whistling, stamping, catcalls.

Q: You didn't expect this?

A: Sure. Kids no different anywhere. They have to be taught. Take a new Scout troop. I used to do Boy Scout work.

Q: How did you go about teaching them?

A: Picked out the leaders. Tough mutts, some of them. Alley cats, like I was. Learned their names, talked with them. Asked the kind of show they liked. Found how much of a gang each one had. Said to pass the word no more sneakin' in. Said I'd loan them what they needed for kids who were short. Loan it to them, personal.

Q: Did they take you up?

A: Sure. Cost me \$22.50 one show.

Q: What else did you do?

A: Kept talking with them. Took some to the office now and then. Pretty plush in there. Impressed them. Began to bring in some acts, comics, jugglers, a pair of hoofers, things kids like.

Q: Did you use the mike any more?

A: Sure, right along. Got so I could talk to them. Got applause when I came on. Green kid might bust out but the crowd would muzzle him.

Q: Was this the system you spoke about?

A: Sure. I told them we needed a council, or something, to run the show. Should have section leaders in all the sections. Then meet for a talk.

Q: Did the kids like this?

A: Ate it up. I had badges ready. Big arm bands with *Leader* on them. Threw in a free season ticket for each leader.

Q: What did the leaders do? What was their job?

A: Keep law and order in the sections. Plan the program. Bring their gangs into line.

Q: Did this work out OK?

A: Sure. The leaders took care of the bad ones.

Q: How was that done?

A: That was their business, not mine. They knew what we wanted. Law and order in the place. Fair deal all around.

Q: Did the leaders help to plan the program?

A: Sure. Asked for a movie when they heard of something good, something that would go. Mostly, they put on acts.

Q: What kind of acts?

A: Acts, just acts. Like contests. Apple bobbin', East Side Hoodlums versus North End Bearcats. Also talent, like a quartet. We got a expensive pipe organ here, best in town. Some kids takin' music at school could play it good. Some music teacher there came to see me. She said we ought to get the talent in, get it "channelized." I said to go slow on that, that we were organized. We didn't want nobody buttin' in.

There is, it would appear, a definite theory of group control in what Mr. Winrith has said. One principle is to find the leaders of these boys and girls and to lead through them. Another is to assign a work task and then give the freedom necessary to carry it

out. Other rules will come to mind as the interview is reread. In general, this former Scout leader's aim is to foster the sense of belonging and participation, to hand over the show to the youngsters. In so far as it becomes their show, their rowdiness is likely to disappear.

INFLUENCE OF THE PEER GROUP

There is time to think on a theory issue, to add a little to what has been said in other chapters on group dynamics. To begin, the chief mistake in the extensive research on motion pictures in the early 1930s was to assume a direct effect, a straight carry-over from the screen to child conduct. There was and is, no doubt, some of this; yet, in the main, *effects are mediated by peer groups*.

Although most of the Payne Foundation studies will illustrate, the best study—and still authoritative in several respects—is the work of Blumer and Hauser.³ From detailed interviews with young delinquents, diary records, etc., the researchers came to the conclusion that movies were a potent influence in shaping conduct. Their main findings are summarized in two paragraphs.

Several important indirect influences disposing or leading persons to delinquency or crime are discernible in the experience of male offenders. Through the display of crime techniques and criminal patterns of behavior; by arousing desires for easy money and luxury, and by suggesting questionable methods for their achievement; by inducing a spirit of bravado, toughness, and adventuresomeness; by arousing intense sexual desires; and by invoking daydreaming of criminal roles, motion pictures may create attitudes and furnish techniques conducive, quite unwittingly, to delinquent or criminal behavior.

One may detect in the case of delinquent girls and young women influences similar to those spoken of in the case of young men. Motion pictures may play a major or minor role in female delinquency and crime by arousing sexual passion; by instilling the desire to live a gay, wild, fast life; by suggesting to some girls questionable meth-

³ H. Blumer and P. M. Hauser, *Movies, Delinquency, and Crime*, Macmillan, 1933, pp. 198-199. All Payne Foundation studies are reviewed by W. W. Chart-ers, *Motion Pictures and Youth*, Macmillan, 1933. A detailed presentation of main findings is Cook, *Community Backgrounds of Education*, McGraw-Hill, 1938, chap. 13.

ods of easily attaining their goals; by the display of modes of beautification and love's techniques; by the depiction of various forms of crime readily imitated by girls and young women; and by competing with home and school for an important place in the life of the girls.

Although these are cautious conclusions, they leave unanalyzed the role of peer groups in imputing meaning to screen imagery, defining characters and events, making conduct acceptable or not; in short, mediating movie influences. Students need to study this point via experimental research.

One study⁴ has compared the reactions to mass media of children who were members of peer groups and those who were not. "Peer group members, oriented as they are to the need of getting along in the group, appear to judge media in terms of a criterion which we might call *social utility*, to select media materials which will in some way be immediately useful for group living."

Another study hypothesized that "susceptibility to communication on topics opposed to group norms is inversely related to the individual's evaluation of his own group."⁵ Put in other words, a group member who cares very much for his group will not be influenced in an antigroup direction to the same extent as will a group member who cares less for his group.

To test this idea, twelve Boy Scout troops were selected. The boys filled in a questionnaire which showed the evaluation each put on his Scout membership. An outsider then gave a speech to each troupe in which he criticized woodcraft, forest lore, and other parts of the Scout program. He suggested that the boys would benefit more by learning about their cities and city problems. When the questionnaire was given again, the correlation between valuation of Scout membership and amount of change in Scout views was .71, thus confirming the hypothesis.

In this line of research, the peer group becomes a significant change agent in influencing conduct. Knowing this, school-teachers are better able to determine the effects of mass media on individual children. Moreover, the group becomes an instrument

⁴ M. W. and J. W. Riley, "A Sociological Approach to Communications Research," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 1951, 15: 445-460.

⁵ H. H. Kelley and E. H. Volkart, "The Resistance to Change of Group Anchored Attitudes," *American Sociological Review*, 1952, 17: 453-465.

to be used in guiding member conduct. This is seen in many Part Two cases, for instance, in "The Kids Run the Show." Teachers will need to face another issue but that can be left for now. Pupils are group responsive, group conditioned. The question often is: *which group?* To which group are they paying primary allegiance? This can make, of course, all the difference in the world in conduct outcomes.

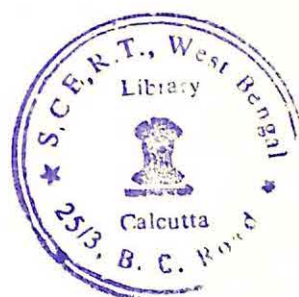
PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Appoint a committee to select a sample of schoolchildren and to study child exposure to mass media. If a questionnaire is used, design it and score it in class, if students want training in research skills.
2. Table 4 gives student ratings of some common teaching tools. Prepare a check list and make these same ratings in your class. Explain the differences.
3. Have you experimented in your class with the use of films on human relations? If not, see if it is possible to use one or two short films, then react to them.
4. What is meant by saying that "America's sweetheart never outgrew her curls?" Is the self determined by the roles one plays in imagination? Read and report on Mary Pickford's *Sunshine and Shadows* (Random House, 1955).
5. Break the class into committees of three members. See if, in ten minutes, each of these groups can agree on the best recommendations to make to Miss Hinton on how to conduct her school trip. Report committee agreements to the class and discuss the reasons behind them.

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CHAPTER 9

Student Nonclass Activities

Let no one smile at these adolescent phenomena. This is a real world, and there is in these activities a real meaning . . . if we can but understand them.

—WILLARD WALLER

It is said that when two Americans meet, they begin to talk. They find interests in common and organize. They put on a drive for membership and after a while incorporate. True or false, the saying is very old. It goes far back in the nation's history, and clearly to some comments by De Tocqueville. Children, as well as adults, take to the idea of joining up, of making common cause. They find fun in union; fun, strength, adventure, and romance. They find what Mark Twain once called "a good, nice, idle time."

This chapter will not hold to any formal concept of student nonclass activities, for there is a lot of writing on this subject. From a great variety of cases, we shall select a few that bear on adolescent leisure pursuits and moral conduct, on club programs and sponsorship, and on improving club and student council organization and functioning. The nonclass area as a whole is of increasing concern to school heads, guidance officers, teachers, and others. It holds great potentials for socializing the young and democratizing the school.

LEISURE PURSUITS AND CONDUCT

Data show a type of situation that teachers call the purely silly. "Are the kids off their rocker?" asked a teacher in reacting to our first case. The reporter is an instructor in the Pershing High School.

Ghost on the Fender

Students at Pershing High are seeing things. Along with other high school students, they drive up and down Strasburg Avenue. As they cruise along, and notably in the evenings, they hear an eerie sound, a knock-knocking on the rear fenders. It does not last long but, to believe them, it is quite distinct. It comes mainly, I am told, from the left rear fender. Girls squeal, no doubt, and clutch their giggling dates, and then repeat the performance.

As my cowboys explain it, there is a ghost on the prowl. It is not a harmful ghostie, as in *Macbeth*, but just a "thrilling" one. "Really, Mrs. McManus, you should hear it, really!" I resolve to do so, then forget, but I'll come to that in a minute.

As I gather the tale, this spook was once a real person, a little girl who on her way home from school was struck by an automobile. For a second, she hung on to the car, rapping on the fender for the driver to hear. But the man didn't hear, or was a heartless wretch, and so he drove on, dragging the child. Now her spirit has come to haunt the cars along the avenue and, of course, to give our bobby-soxers a great thrill.

This is the story and at Pershing, it has spread like wildfire. The same is true in other city schools. Crowds of teen-agers flock to listen. Some, and I suspect my own students, have held midnight parties on my lawn, for I live on Strasburg near the haunted part. Mostly, the kids just drive up and down the street, so much that police cruisers have been detailed to break up traffic jams.

I live there, as I have said. Just for kicks, I switched my route and drove the avenue home. As sure as Satan I heard, when I came to the ghostie's particular hangout, that knock-knocking on my car. I turned and came back. No knock at all! But when I drove up the street again, there was the knock-knock!

Some one tipped off a *Times* reporter and he came with a photographer. As they passed Ghost Point, they heard the standard knock-knock, proving that the ghostie was still on the job. The reporter

parked his car to take a closer look. Among the men to whom he talked was Mr. Novak, an old-timer on the street.

"There is no ghost," Mr. Novak was quoted in a front-page box. "There is no ghost on Strasburg. You tell everybody that. We are going to have the law on these kids if they don't quit their shenanigans."

Mr. Novak was very explicit. "There is no spook on Strasburg Avenue. There never has been one. There was no child ever killed here. We have been hearing this rap-rapping only since cold weather came, maybe a month ago. I will tell you what that is. We got a new strip of pavement past here. The cement slabs expand in the daytime and contract in the evening. In the evening, their edges rub together when a car goes over and that is what you hear. You tell the kids this," added Mr. Novak, "so we can get some sleep."

Did this slay the ghostie? Not on your life. Just this evening as I was driving home, the students were out in force. Is there no way to kill a spook, or is it better to let it live, to traditionalize it?

There are teachers, like Mrs. McManus, who can enjoy the make-believe of the young, their zany ideas and enthusiasms. There are others—sour pussies, marionettes, drill masters—who find no fun in fun, who become more often than not the butt of student pranks. Reports deal with this, though we must pass them up.

Another type of case tells an all too common story, one full of heartaches. The writer is the school psychologist. Sandra is fifteen; Rosemary is fourteen. Both come from what would be rated average, middle-class homes.

Sandra and Rosemary

Sandra began just like far too many junior high girls. She was late to class, cut school with increasing frequency, and was smart to her teachers. She developed other clique habits—smoking in the lavatory, dating boys much too old for her, thumbing rides to and from school with strangers, and flunking in courses. We knew she was running with the wrong bunch, but her parents didn't seem to care and were no help to us.

When, time and time again, I have talked with Sandra and asked her why she did these things, her answer has been that she didn't know. When she was pressed on this, she would refuse to talk. She has sat in my office for as much as half the morning without saying a word.

On Tuesday, May 3, I phoned Sandra's home. Her mother said that she knew the girl was not at school. Sandra had left a note, which said that she and Rosemary K were running away from home. The note told the mother not to worry, that the girls would write. I asked Mrs. Klaus what she had done, and she said she had phoned the police.

That same afternoon, the girls were taken by the state police just outside the city line, where they were trying to thumb a ride.

Two weeks later, May 16 to be exact, the two girls ran away again. This time, they "borrowed" a boy friend's car. They picked up a hitchhiker on the road, and spent two nights with him in a motel. Here they were taken into custody by the police. They wound up in the juvenile court.

The girls were released to their parents and that is where the case now stands. On returning to school, both girls treated the whole matter as a big joke. Sandra's flip comment was, "Join the Navy and see the world," meaning (I guess) that the hitchhiker was an ex-Navy man.

It is no great step from this episode to a third case theme, games in which to win the player must stay alive. There are reports of very small boys and girls who, in a special version of big-city "tag," dart back and forth across the street in front of speeding cars. There are forms of "Russian roulette," played with a revolver in which one chamber is loaded. There is "headlight chicken."

Headlight Chicken

Here at Schoolcraft we are asking why do they do it? Where is the fun?

The score last night, or rather this morning was three high school students dead and two in grave condition, all in a desperate game of headlight tag, played by two carloads of kids on a country road at night with lights out.

The dead are Ronald Price, seventeen; Lyle Kahler, eighteen; Noreen Schug, fifteen. In the hospital are Rex McNally, fifteen; and Allen Anderson, fourteen. Rex has a skull fracture, a broken leg and arm. Allen has internal injuries. How these boys escaped death is a mystery.

School will be closed tomorrow for the funeral. The students are much too upset to attend classes.

State police say the students were playing "chicken," as Allen Anderson has confirmed in a statement. By agreement, the two cars moved a mile apart and then turned around. Lights were put out and the drivers headed for each other. The aim was to see who would

"chicken," i.e., turn out first to let the other car go by. "They must have been going damned fast," a state trooper was heard to remark.

The crash occurred on the county pike near the home of Nathan H. Miller. Mr. Miller, a farmer, said he heard the cars collide. He stated that the lights must have been out for quite a distance, since he did not see either automobile. None of the parents could offer any explanation of the tragedy.

Almost any issue of a big-city press will show one or more accidents like this, the young bored and lost and snatching at fun. Parents can seldom throw any light on what happens. They did not know, they thought everything was all right. Consider, simply, deaths by automobiles.

In the past 40 years, more than a million Americans have lost their lives in auto accidents. This is about twice the number slain in all our wars. From 15 to 20 million have been injured, a million disabled. By the time this page is read, another United States citizen will have been killed in a car crash. Almost every family in the nation has suffered the death or injury of at least one member in an auto mishap. More children are killed in an average month than die of polio in a year. One can buy greeting cards to send to persons who have been struck, with quite an assortment from which to choose. Can it be denied that killing people by automobile has become an exciting national pastime?

For some years we have felt that safety education was in part missing its mark. Instead of being confined mainly to driver skills, it should be directed at driver attitudes. Take the careful driver, the average adult out on a Sunday afternoon for a drive. He wants to pass, or a car wants to pass him, and the routine is automatic. And so the trip goes until some person does him wrong, takes advantage of him as he would say. "I'll show him," exclaims the "careful driver," his jaws set. He tightens up on the wheel, smashes down on the gas, after which—as heard in on-the-spot radio broadcasts—anything can happen and often does. State patrolmen say, time and again, that few accidents ever make very good sense.

At such critical moments, few drivers appear to be fully sane, fully themselves, peaceful and law-abiding citizens. Do they love the feel of power, the exhilaration of fast motion, the risk of sud-

den death? Are they victims of frustration in their everyday life, venting their aggressions? Are they driven by subconscious compulsions? Surely safe driving is more than a manipulative skill. It is a problem finally in human relations, in social attitudes and values, a point of view which safety education has not yet taken fully into account.

CLUB SPONSORSHIP

The theory of the American extracurricular movement is that the young are young, that in their nonclass groups and activities they need adult sponsorship. An untold number of teachers have had experiences in this work, contacts with boys and girls which remain vivid in memory in spite of the years. Some sponsors have not fared well, for reasons that are extremely variable. The writer of the "Aero" case is a teacher in this technical high school, a member in his student days of the group discussed.

Aero Club Initiation

Early this present semester, I was invited by the Aero Club president to become the official sponsor for the group and to assist in a forthcoming initiation. I accepted, since this is an organization of departmental majors.

Eighteen boys were to be taken into Aero, and the date was set for Friday afternoon after classes. The place was to be a basement space in the building, the same one used 12 years ago when I was initiated. The custom is to use this large room and an adjoining alcove, where the pledges can change into old clothes. They are then blindfolded and brought in for some harmless horseplay, after which we spruce up and go out for a big club dinner.

The first part of the initiation was, as I have implied, a bit primitive, for example, an egg-and-flour shampoo, painting parts of the body, swallowing a raw oyster, like that. This time the boys had planned, in addition, an electric shock. Each pledge was painted with some "dope" on arms, legs and chest, then touched with a magneto spark. The shock is slight, of course, but enough to give most of the fellows a little jolt.

Three pledges were given this treatment, and a boy named Douglas was next. When the spark was applied, his trousers caught fire and instantly burst into flames. For a split second, we were too shocked to

move. The boy screamed and I caught him and threw him to the floor, trying to smother the blaze. I covered him with my body, then with some coats, but not before he was badly burned. Someone phoned and we had a police cruiser within minutes. It rushed us both to Harper Hospital, where Doug received emergency treatment.

In answer to questions the next day, I told the police that the boys had been smeared with common aluminum paint, a substance which was quite safe. I was wrong in this, as I admitted as soon as I examined the "dope." The paint was an aircraft nitrate colored with aluminum, hence inflammable when touched with a spark. I did not, of course, know this, or I would have stopped it.

With the press now clamoring that I should be fired, the Board of Education asked the superintendent to make an investigation. I was called for a hearing and was cleared of negligence. I had thought that the "dope" was the same we had used years ago in initiations, thus that it was safe. A ban on all club "hazing" was issued by the superintendent, the one good thing that came out of this tragic school event.

This writer is a graduate engineer and a competent teacher. Did he err in not checking on the "dope"? We are inclined to think so, though the mistake would be easy for anyone to make. The initiation itself is patterned on a college model which we would find impossible to defend.

In the next case, the writer lost her job. What happened should be studied with care. We were drawn into the controversy and, after study, took the teacher's side.

A Party at the Cabin

Barb C. was their spokesman, though the girls made it plain that I was their choice also. "Our bunch is having a party at the cabin Saturday, Miss Monnerie, and we want you to come along. Will you?" The girls had to have a chaperone, and I was glad to come. The Costello cabin was, I knew, a few miles up in the mountains. The weather was ideal for outdoor sports—tobogganing, skiing, anything one liked.

Barb and Nancy, and their boy friends, picked me up Saturday afternoon on schedule, with Barb driving her car. The snow was soft but not deep, and we made good time. When we arrived at the cabin, most of the bunch were there, along with the Costellos *mère* and *père*, whom I knew slightly. They were a middle-aged couple, very

pleasant, and very well off. The kids were decked out like Arctic explorers—mackinaws, snow caps, colored scarves, boots, the works. There were two big bobsleds, a sleigh, several pairs of skis, and other things. Everyone was gay, and I felt good just to be part of the group.

"They're sweet, aren't they?" said little Mrs. Costello. "Indeed they are," I replied, thinking of my own senior year in high school. Parties like this were more common then, for there was much less mass entertainment.

It took the kids no time at all to get things going. Two went off on skis and four—two on, two pulling or pushing—took out a bobsled, yelling to ask if I want a ride. Mostly the group stayed in, or close to, the clearing. They threw each another into the snow, stood on their heads, turned flips, cracked the whip, and stormed the fort. They climbed the roof of a sod house and came sliding down in a tangled pile.

"Oh, oh," Mrs. C murmured. "Those kids! They're crazy. They'll get killed; you mind what I say." Papa C grinned. He is big and jovial and was having a grand time. "Good riddance," he said, at which Mrs. C gave him a mock scolding. He loved them all, I am sure, but most of all his daughter Barbara. She was an only child and I judge that he humored her in everything. Not that she was spoiled, snobbish, or the like, for I have seldom seen a sweeter person.

As it began to get dark, the kids came inside the cabin. We had a meal of barbecued elk steaks, potato chips, etc., with dark wine for those who preferred it to coffee. The meal was pickup style, and we sat on the floor in front of quite the biggest log-burning fireplace I have ever seen. After supper, there were songs and dancing, the alternate "hot" and "cool" music which adolescents then liked, the rock 'n' roll mixed with Gillespie and Brubeck.

As time went on, I began to notice that Barb and Jim, her escort, made rather frequent trips outside. They were not gone long, so I paid it no attention. I noticed also that Nancy and Jack went out. About the time I began to wonder what the two couples were doing, I saw Barb trip in dancing, with Jim barely saving her from a fall. I could hear him talking earnestly with her, cautioning her about something, though I could not tell what.

I decided to speak to Mr. Costello. When I mentioned the trips outside, he laughed in his hale and hearty way and teased me about being a schoolmarm. I made some jesting remark and walked over to talk with Barb. She and Jim had just come in and had started to dance.

Not wanting to interrupt, I studied her for a moment and saw that she was not her usual vivacious self. She dragged along and then, suddenly, fell flat on her face. It looked as if she had been hurt, for she did not try to get up. When I bent over her, I knew what the score was. Barb was dead to the world, *dead drunk*, and apparently fast asleep. Without a word, her father picked her up, carried her to an adjoining room and put her to bed. He did this matter-of-factly, as if it all had happened before.

There was nothing to be done for Barbara, and I spoke to Jim. "Where are Nancy and Jack? He glanced around. "Out, I guess." "All right," I said, "let's go see," and I grabbed a coat, for the air was sharp. We walked down the path toward the bay. After a bit, Jack stopped and started back. "This way," he said; "they're over here." He led me to Barb's coupe. Nancy was drowsy and Jack was trying to shake her awake. She seemed to me almost as drunk as Barb.

This is what happened at the party, and all that happened. I was driven home without incident in the Costello family car. On Tuesday, I had a note from Mrs. C, explaining that she was sorry about Barbara. I was prepared to forget the experience when the talk began. The teacher with whom I room told me what she had heard about the party, most of which was vicious gossip. Some mother, I suppose, phoned the superintendent or wrote him, for I was called in.

"You were at the Costello cabin, Miss Monnerie?" Yes. "Tell me what took place?" I hesitated, not knowing how to begin. "Now, Miss Monnerie, I would not want you to tell a lie." As if I were a wayward child! As if I would lie to him or anyone!

"I must warn you," he continued, "that this is a serious matter. You see, we have Costello's report." I admit that this confused me or else I resented the way I was being treated. At any rate, I asked a dumb question; namely, how did he get that? The man flushed, and it was plain that he was very mad. Again I admit, for I must be accurate, that I did not feel apologetic; in truth, I wished that I could hurt him as much as he had hurt me.

"I had hoped, my dear Miss Monnerie, that you would cooperate." The same superior attitude, the same prejudgment of facts. "I see now that I have made a grave mistake. If you wish to make a statement, I shall require that this be done under oath. You are obviously an unfit person. You do not belong in the profession, and I shall recommend the termination of your contract."

As I gasped at this, and tried to protest, I saw that the interview was at an end. The man left his chair behind his desk, walked to the

door, and opened it. "Good day, Miss Monnerie," he said as I went out.

The behavior of this teacher in the interview looks very immature and yet there are extenuating circumstances. The impact of the superintendent's charges, his obvious suspicion of moral laxness, struck Miss Monnerie like a physical blow, a peristaltic shock. Gossip was made the peg on which her good name was hung, on which her job depended. For the moment, she was speechless, lost in a wave of revulsion for the interviewer.

What about Mr. Walters, the superintendent? He, too, lost composure, and his anger led him down a devious path. Again, in extenuation, it should be said that much of a school head's life is lived on the edge of trouble, the rim of misunderstanding and conflict. His is a strainful, high-pitched job, one where balance is at times hard to maintain. Admitting that he was provoked, did he have sufficient grounds on which to judge the teacher? Did he know enough about her? Was he aware of what really happened at the cabin? Was his aim to force from Miss Monnerie a confession of personal misconduct?

It is in untangling issues of this sort that students find their chief use of this case. They like to role-play the interview, to test out how a professional man, the school head, should behave. Miss Monnerie's role is varied as they please, the aim being to explore possible reaction patterns.

This case, like others, can be spoiled for classroom training purposes by detailing what actually happened. In this instance, however, it would not be easy to refrain, to keep from making the whole story a matter of record.

After Miss Monnerie wrote this paper, she declined our invitation to discuss it. She had returned to college and wanted to re-enter teaching, yet she had no wish to relive (or review) what had happened to her. It was well over 2 months later that she changed her mind about this. The event, she said, had been weighing on her, and she felt that talking it over might reduce her worries.

The charge against her was "insubordination," since she had refused to make a statement under oath. In spite of the Costello family's intervention, she was discharged. The report to which

Mr. Walters had referred was a short letter written by Mr. Costello, at the superintendent's request. The letter explained Barbara's "weakness" as a habit of long standing, one the parents had been unable to correct. Miss Monnerie was not mentioned, much less implicated in any way. The parents took full responsibility and, in a second letter, expressed their respect and affection for the teacher. They asked still later, in an interview with Mr. Walters, that the charge against Miss Monnerie be dropped.

After her dismissal, Miss Monnerie dropped out of teaching for almost a full year, feeling that she had failed, that teaching was not the kind of work she should do. Why she changed her mind and returned to college for a master's degree is not a matter of record. With her permission, we decided to reopen the case, to clear her job history of the black mark, if that was possible.

Following an interview with the Costellos, including Barbara, we talked with some of the girl's friends, then with three teachers at the high school. Next, we tried to see the superintendent. He said that the Monnerie case was closed, that he preferred to leave it that way. The principal at the school agreed with Mr. Walters by telephone, adding that he did not have time for an interview. In his letter declining the interview, he wrote that "there is more to this case than at first meets the eye, especially the eye of an outsider."

The more we learned about the situation, the more we came to believe that there was more here than the principal would admit. What, in final analysis, "met our eye" was a summary action seen too often in the school business. To us, the loss of any teacher like this young lady, or even a black mark on a job record, is an awful waste. These persons are young, alert, civilized. They have aliveness, and they have pride. Adolescents love them, and they are much needed in a profession which threatens to grow pedantic, to become overly conventionalized. Such teachers are, in sum, a great human relations asset.

IMPROVING CLUB PROGRAMS

On assumption that school clubs, including the student council, are a good thing, that the need is to make them better, let us take

a case or two on this subject. First, a school venture in safety education, one sure to set off a vigorous classroom debate. The writer is the school principal in this better-than-average suburban community.

A Hot-rodder Club

Lincoln Homes is a small suburban town, nice people and nice homes. A third or more of the high school students drive their own or the family car to school, in spite of all we can do to discourage the practice. As one boy said to me, "You don't feel right, sir, without your heap."

I have been interested in safety education for at least a decade. A few years ago, the Lincoln Homes High School set up a course for drivers, the first in this state. Not much came of that, I am sorry to say, for almost all our students can drive, drive well if they wish.

The more I thought of our problem, the more a different kind of "safety education" began to take shape in my mind. For instance, these boys love their "heaps." These are, as a rule, beat-up old wrecks, assembled out of odds and ends, then "souped up" to get maximum speed. Each heap has a name, often a fantastic one.

Taking these and other facts into account, our students and faculty decided to push the notion of a Hot-rodder Club. The idea had to clear, first, with the local police department, then get full parental approval, and then secure general community support. How all of this was managed, almost wholly by the students, would take some pages to relate. Our New England communities are notoriously conservative, and it takes time for people to make up their minds.

In April last year, the school got its Hot-rodder Club. Although this project is still under study, and we must make up new rules as we move along, the activity promises to be major force in uniting the school, building spirit and morale. We hope, of course, that it will cut down our file of cases marked, as in every sizable high school, "car trouble," or some such title.

Any boy over fifteen and a half can qualify for the club, providing he meets a number of tests. He must have a mark of 75 or over in school citizenship. He must secure parental consent and own, or be paying on his own "heap," with partner ownership allowed. He cannot have a record of reckless driving, or an accident for which he is to blame. His car must undergo inspection just before the start of each drag race. The traffic officer who does this inspection, a Mr. Blake, who has been assigned by Chief Crider to the project, is tough on the

boys. Brakes, steering wheel, tires, in particular, are given rigorous examination. Finally, a single traffic violation at school or anywhere puts a boy out of the club.

Our track is a half-mile stretch of gravel road, donated for club use and got in shape by the boys. Drag races are on Saturday morning, and they are beginning to attract a small crowd, mostly high school girls. I should say that drivers race against time, not against one another. The boys study their records as a basis for retooling (and improving) their heaps.

A very valuable part of the experiment is the time boys spend in tinkering with their cars. To illustrate, the best time made so far has been by Cecil "Hard Rock" Bailey, son of a prominent dentist, in a purple Model A Ford, the "Purple Cow," as he calls it. The car is an assembly job, built on the original chassis from parts Hard Rock and his partner have picked up, mainly at auto junk yards. Mr. Blake, the police traffic man, meets once a week at school with the club for what the boys call "skull practice." He tells me that they are getting very smart about the insides of an automobile.

Chief Crider is our most enthusiastic backer. "Been a lot less delinquency around here," he says, "since the boys got organized." We take this with a grain of salt, for Lincoln Homes has never had any juvenile delinquency to speak of.

This account has been greatly shortened. Enough is given to clarify the main point. This is not the usual high school safety education, with on-and-off-street tracks and cars having dual controls. This is a *group project*, an activity sponsored by the school, police department, parents, and community. It belongs within broad limits to the boys; they worked it up, they run it. It has appeal for them and for the school, thus enlisting a great deal of enthusiastic support. What our students debate most, taking views pro and con, are the considerable risks involved.

HOW NOT TO RUN A STUDENT COUNCIL

If high school students are fairly canvassed, they are of two minds in respect to their club programs. They like them, find much to praise in them, but want more freedom in their control. Consider a student council as an example, one of perhaps 50 cases

on school councils. The writer is an instructor in the Central High School.

All in Favor Say Aye

One morning in November, a fellow teacher picked me up. "Hop in," he said, as he stopped for me, "I want to talk with you." We were on the way to school and I thanked him for the lift. "Listen, Bob. How would you like to be chairman of the Christmas party?" This was a big event at Central High, with the Student Council in charge. I considered it but shook my head.

"No," I said. "Can't do. Got more work now than I can handle." Harry grinned. "Well," he remarked, "you know how it is. Zenda asked me to speak to you. He likes to keep a hand on these things." That I knew, perhaps as well as he did. Zenda is principal and Zenda runs the school. Stalling him, I said, "But I thought students ran this show." "Right," and then he added, "but old Zenda likes to make sure that they do. He thought you'd be a good man to work with them; you know, keep them in line." Harry is always frank, to say the least.

"Why did my name get in this? There are 72 members of this faculty, and many with nothing to do except to meet classes. Get one of those loafers to do it." "Sure, but I don't think Zenda would like that. After all, don't you want to get ahead, be a big shot?" After laughing off any such ambition, I let it go at that. "Think it over," my friend said; "you can let me know at noon."

At lunch we had another talk. Harry said he had seen Zenda, that Zenda wanted me for the job. I gave in, for I did not see what else to do. There is a lot involved in a deal like this, including the good will of Harry Albright, who happens to be my department chairman.

I went to the office that afternoon. Zenda was all smiles. He said I had been the unanimous choice of the Student Council to assist them in staging the Christmas party at the school. After complimenting me on this "honor," he handed me a three-page outline. To make the students' work easier, he said, he had "roughed out" the program, committees, and the like. As I scanned the pages, I saw that everything was there, down to the names of committee members. I was to report to him as soon as the students approved and I made the appointments.

The report goes into some pages of details. The main point is in a sentence at the end. "Zenda handled the party through me, and I handled it through the students." When this teacher was asked to tell more about the Student Council, he wrote a second report.

The Council has the appearance of a democratic group. It has a constitution, bylaws, the usual officers, and so on. You will understand its true nature if I explain how new officers are elected.

Students hold office for a year, and they are elected in May. What happens is that a nominating committee of present officers meets in Zenda's office. While Zenda is not on the Council in any capacity, for the school is represented by two faculty advisers, he takes charge of the nomination. With student help, he builds a slate, *one name for each place!* At the first business meeting of the council in May, the Council president presents these names.

The president's words are: "The Nominating Committee of the Student Council presents for president . . .," and then the student's name. And so on until all the nominees are named. The president adds that Mr. Thomas, who is director of student activities, approves the list. Someone moves that the nominations be closed, and the motion is seconded. All in favor say AYE; opposed, NAY. The AYES have it; in fact, the AYES have always had it in this school! The next motion, of course, elects the slate.

I shall some day, so help me, recite some Thomas Jefferson to Mr. Zenda. Or, on second thought, I shall read him the Preamble of the Student Council Constitution. "We, the students of the Central High School of ———, in order to provide a means for student participation in the control of school activities, do ordain and establish . . ." What, really, has been established? I do not regard this query as impertinent and, as I say, some day I shall ask it.

Unless one has known a school head like Mr. Zenda, he is not in good position to imagine all that this kind of leadership implies. Whether the issue is student council or otherwise, we believe that the leader's intentions are good. He seeks to run a ship-shape school, to keep round pegs out of square holes, in short, to keep work levels high. To do this he must, he feels, retain authority, all the authority granted in custom, law, and board policy.

There is, needless to add, another way to run a school. The power to act can be delegated, with groups and persons held accountable for its use. This is, it would appear, what the case writer wants. It is what an ever-increasing number of students at all school levels expect and demand of school administrators and faculties. In some of our cases, they have pressed their views to

the point of open revolt, such as strikes and other kinds of non-participation.

FURTHER COMMENT ON STUDENT COUNCILS

To conclude, a remark on student councils. The idea is fairly new and is spreading fast in grade and high schools. There is a sizable literature,¹ readily accessible to students, or they may elect to make a study of councils in the public schools. One mistake in writings is to glow too much over a specific example, to intimate that here is a prime model to follow. Another error is to treat the council as a puzzle in science, at least as an issue in logistics. To us, each organization with which we have worked is a product of a given situation, having unique elements of significance. Every one is a management problem, a problem in a triangulated set of school-head-faculty-student relations.

At times one finds schools that schedule council meetings on school time and give credit for student participation. One principal writes:²

We have a class in student council. The class meets five days a week, for 45 minutes. Monday is devoted to a business meeting, and four days are given to lessons in school citizenship, units on parliamentary procedure, qualities of leadership, student council practices in the nation, and similar topics. One unit of social science credit is given for this work.

Councils provide students (and faculty) with experience in the study and management of school activities. Kirkendall and Zeran list 74 of these, in the main school social activities, budget allocation, sponsorship of programs, community services, and public relations. The aim is to vest authority in students, to "make them responsible citizens of the school."

What happens if council decisions run counter to school-head policy? In three out of four of our cases, the administrator exercises veto, followed as a rule by condemnation of student action. In the fourth case, the principal usually stays council action, if he can, then disapproves it *after* study, if this seems imperative.

¹ A good analysis, with an extensive bibliography, is L. A. Kirkendall and F. R. Zeran, *Student Councils in Action*, Chartwell House, 1953.

² *Ibid.*, p. 125.

During study, it is often possible to work out some adjustment which, although seldom all that students want, is acceptable to most of them.

It is at this point, namely, in the exercise of final authority, that many school and college officials fail. Students simply lose faith in top administrators, come to mistrust them. At times student expectations are unrealistic. School heads and faculties cannot, if they wish, divest themselves of accountability in the conduct of a school. They should, however, handle council issues with consideration for student views. The need is to learn how to work through human relations differences to agreements, to play the kind of game which educates—or reeducates—everyone.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Invite to class the chief traffic-control officer in your community. Tell him in advance what the class would like to have him discuss.

2. Have you ever made a study of safety education? Review for class L. Brody and H. J. Stack (eds.), *Highway Safety and Driver Education* (Prentice-Hall, 1954).

3. What are your reactions to the "A Party at the Cabin" case? Role-play Miss Monnerie's interview with Superintendent Walters.

4. Have you had experience in a student council in college or school? Organize a panel discussion of councils, telling how they function and how they can be improved. Consider especially the role of the council sponsor or adviser.

5. If your class has not already worked out a plan for checking on outside readings, see if the group cares to use a simple assessment sheet:

Evaluation of Readings

Author, title	Didn't read	Inter- esting	Not inter- esting	Useful in my work	Not useful	Doesn't fit in course	Comments

SELECTED READINGS

1. *Guidance in the Curriculum*, 1955 Yearbook of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, National Education Association, Washington, 1955.

2. Kirkendall, L. A., and F. R. Zeran: *Student Councils in Action*, Chartwell House, 1953.
3. Lee, A. M.: *Fraternities without Brotherhood*, Beacon Press, 1956.
4. Robbins, Florence Greehoe: *The Sociology of Play, Recreation, and Leisure Time*, Wm. C. Brown, 1956.
5. Smith, Glen E.: *The Guidance Process*, Macmillan, 1955.
6. Warters, Jane: *Techniques of Counseling*, McGraw-Hill, 1954.
7. Weber, C. A., and Mary E. Weber: *Fundamentals of Educational Leadership*, McGraw-Hill, 1955.

CHAPTER 10

School and Home Relations

The members of the teaching profession share with parents the task of shaping each student's purposes and acts toward socially acceptable ends.

—*Second Principle, NEA Code of Ethics*

Of all the institutions of society, the school is most closely related to the home. Citizens elect boards of education which appoint school personnel and make general policy. They vote or do not vote school funds. They send the young to school, take part in school programs, and serve on school committees. Almost 350,000 persons are members of school boards, over 10 million are in the nation's PTAs, and there must be at least 11,000 community councils with a prime interest in the conduct of public education.

This chapter will study some problems in school and home relations. In all, 752 cases fall in this division of materials. Cases range over many items which cannot be touched here; in fact, their reach would be quite difficult to probe. So many changes have taken place and are in process in American family life, that a serious student will want to read at least one authoritative sociological textbook on trends and problems. Let us begin with an issue that is much less common than are the others to be presented.

TEACHER-MOTHER ROLE CONFLICT

The concept of role has proved very useful in understanding people. By it is meant what people should do, the expectations held as to how they should act in terms of some set of human relations. Every adult has various kinds of roles and it is not at all unusual to find these roles in conflict. Many schoolteachers are also parents, citizens, taxpayers, etc., and as a rule this creates no basic difficulty. There are exceptions, as a case will suggest.

The writer of the report left teaching for marriage and then, after her husband's untimely death, returned to the profession. She teaches the third grade in a small-town school and has a daughter Ellen in the second grade in the same school.

The Teacher-Mother Role

This is our first year at the Worthington Grade School, the first year for Ellen and me. She is only a little over six years old but is very smart for her age. I suggested to Mrs. Vlett [principal] that Ellen should start in the third with me, but she put her in 2B. She will be in my room next year and I am, of course, looking forward to that.

One day, perhaps a month ago, Ellen wasn't feeling well, and I kept her in my room. I sent a note to Mrs. Vlett, telling her that the child was sick, and she asked in reply if I should take her to the doctor. I did not feel that it was necessary, but thanked her for her kindness.

Since I have always had to watch Ellen's diet, she has been eating her noon meal in my room with me. When I found that it was just as cheap to eat in the school lunchroom, I stopped packing our lunch. The second time we ate there, three teachers came in. They waved at us, laughed and said something, but I couldn't hear what it was. I had expected them to join us at the faculty table but they took their trays and sat in the student section.

When this same thing happened the next day, I went to Mrs. Vlett. I asked if there was some rule against Ellen's eating with me. She said no, there was no rule, but that it was the custom for pupils to eat in their own section. Since I didn't want to embarrass anyone, I told Ellen that we had better have our lunch in my room.

Ellen reads better than any of my third graders, as I have said. Knowing how much she enjoys reading, I asked Miss Kyrie, her teacher,

if Ellen could visit us and read to my class. Miss Kyrie refused this simple request but gave me no reason, so I went to Mrs. Vlett. To my surprise, she sided with the teacher, explaining only that Ellen belonged with her group. I do not think this is fair to the child, for she can do third-grade work.

The teacher goes on to explain a plan for getting the problem cleared up, that is, for advancing Ellen to the third grade. She does not understand where the mix-up lies, nor does the principal seem to be giving her any guidance. No instructor can mother her child in school and not do damage to her teacher role. Nor can she do this with a roomful of children—become a genuine mother substitute. Her worth as a teacher lies in a more objective relation to young people, in their comparative study, their fair and intelligent treatment, whereas a mother is inclined to favor her own child on every count.

Any case of role conflict might move a college class to make studies of the teacher role. For instance, there is the puzzling business of being a woman in these present times. Parsons¹ finds four elements in the general feminine role. One is the domestic component which, once a unity, now has split into two ill-fitting specific roles: mother-wife and homemaker. "Being a mother has merit," remarks Kluckhohn,² "but when a woman is heard to say, 'Oh, I'm just a homemaker,' she is voicing doubt as to the worth of her role."

The second element is the job component, the career, which looms ever larger and more important to many women. In various ways it conflicts with the mother-wife and homemaker roles, ways that a study committee could investigate. Parsons finds, third, a persistence of the "glamour girl" idea, a concept of self which runs counter to obvious facts of aging. Fourth, there is the "humanistic component," which Kluckhohn calls the "culture bearer" role. Women are carriers of aesthetic, intellectual, and moral interests which men, busy at work pursuits, may regard as the "embroidery" of everyday life.

¹ Talcott Parsons, *Essays in Sociological Theory Pure and Applied*, Free Press, 1949, chap. 1.

² Florence Kluckhohn, "American Women and American Values," in Lyman Bryson (ed.), *Facing the Future Risks*, Harper, 1953, chap. 12.

TROUBLES WITH PARENTS

Teachers and parents should share the task of childhood education, to repeat the NEA code. Now and again, however, the partnership threatens to disrupt. One fairly typical source of trouble is school trips.

A Trip to the Zoo

In the spring, after the weather warms, I take my third graders to the zoo. We pack lunch, go by school bus, spend the day (Saturday) in play and in watching the birds and animals. We prepare for the trip by reading stories and, as a rule, looking at Hudson's movie *Zoolandia*. The only trouble I have had is with a few parents, and I shall tell how I have tried to solve that.

I asked the children as usual if they wanted to make a trip to the zoo, and as usual they clamored to go. I gave them consent slips to take home and have signed, and then we began to make a plan.

Lunch. Parents prepare picnic baskets for the children, baskets much too big for them to manage. They are loaded down with many things they don't need, such as glass jars of milk, which they break, or lose, or get mixed up. On this trip, we agreed that each person was to have a lunch packed in a paper bag, with the owner's name printed on the bag. Second, all lunches were to be put in a big LUNCH BOX behind the driver in the bus. Third, we would all eat at the same time and in a group, at outdoor tables, which we would pull together.

Wraps. Some mothers dress their young as if we were headed for the arctic, including extra coats and blankets "just in case." At times, mothers meet us at the zoo, bringing things the children forgot. The rule we made was that whatever was worn had to be left on, with the exception of one light wrap or coat on which the owner's name had been pinned.

Money. Some pupils bring money to spend and some do not, and some have had as much as \$1.00, which can cause a deal of trouble. We agreed that each child could bring 10¢ for popcorn, a drink, whatever he wanted to buy, and that no child should bring more than 20¢.

Mothers. This is a touchy subject, so we planned with care. Often mammas, grandmammas, aunts, and cousins pile in with us, each determined to guard some little darling with his life, to see that nothing happens to the child. Often they just chance to be at the zoo so they join us, a curious coincidence.

Did we want our mothers to come along? The vote was overwhelmingly no. I explained our need for two mothers to assist us on the trip. How were these helpers to be chosen? We agreed to put the names of all pupils in a hat, to shake them up, then to draw out three slips. The first two names drawn would be the mothers whom we would invite. The third mother would be invited if one of the first two could not go.

Group Letter. This item was for parents, more than for pupils. We agreed to write all the rules in a group letter, with everyone signing it. I would then mimeograph the letter and each child would take a copy to his or her mother. The children were enthused and I am sure that this delivery system worked better than in the case of most of the notes teachers send to homes.

How did the scheme work? I have 41 pupils and, along with them, eight mothers showed up! This does not include the two invited to assist with the trip. What could I do but take them, especially since they drove their own cars. A week later, our principal brought me a note. This mother wrote to say that she never went where she was not wanted, but she felt that my "discourteous action was an insult to parents" and should be reported. The mother was referring to the group letter which the children, under my guidance, had composed.

Anyone who deals with the public knows that not all its members are considerate when it comes to self-interests. This should not be news to teachers, nothing to get excited over. One makes a plan, tries to work it, improves it, as a matter of course. Our students sometimes take the roles of a group of parents whom Miss Smith has assembled in order to make rules with them for conducting third-grade trips. There are almost as many ways of handling this meeting as there are students who wish to take Miss Smith's role.

Often parent troubles are less obvious than in the "school trip" case. The reporter teaches gym in a school for the deaf. Her group consists of 12 girls, ten to fourteen years of age. Martha and Linda are the only Negro pupils in the class.

On Keeping Clean

At the Kohlman School, all the girls take gym unless there is some impairment of physical health. They go directly from school classes to the locker room and change into gym clothes. In most of the groups,

we begin with setting up exercises, such as standing, kneeling, and pushups from body-flat positions, after which we form a circle for games or choose up for team play.

Soon after the present term started, Martha asked to be excused from class. Since this is not unusual in itself, I gave her a permit slip and she went to the lockers to dress. At the next gym period, she and Linda asked for excuses. Both said they did not feel well, so I permitted them to dress. Martha was absent at the next class meeting but, following that, she again asked for an excuse. I asked her to wait until I got the group started so that we could talk. She said the pain was in her stomach, and I told her she would have to see the school physician. She replied that her mother was going to take her to a doctor after school, so I gave her an excuse.

When, on Monday, this started over, I left my class and took Martha to our school physician. Dr. Keil left a note for me, saying that she had examined Martha and questioned her but could find nothing wrong. This puzzled me, for Martha is a very nice little girl, happy, truthful, and full of fun. She is never disobedient, or anything of that kind.

When I talked with Martha, she was evasive. She claimed that she still had stomach pains, that she could not take gym, that she was under the care of a family doctor. Since I had begun to doubt most of this, I asked her to sit out the period on the sidelines, which she did without complaint. As a matter of fact, she appeared to enjoy being with the group rather than in it, a reaction which I could not understand. I resolved to see Mrs. Wells, Martha's mother, and I called on her that evening after school.

The Wells family lived in a small but nice house, freshly painted, grass cut, with a good many flowers. Mrs. Wells was friendly yet reserved, so that I figured she was worried about my call. She was from the South, a high school graduate, an active church worker, and, I judge, an able and affectionate mother to Martha and her two older brothers. Mr. Wells was head of maintenance at a city water works plant, liked his job, and made good pay. The family owned their home and, apparently, some adjoining real estate. The mother was extremely anxious that Martha, and the boys, do well at school, "for an education is a wonderful thing."

When, after this half hour of visiting, I told her about Martha, she did not seem at all surprised. She explained that the girl got dirty on the gym floor and that she had impressed on her the necessity of keeping clean. When Mrs. Wells added that "cleanliness was next to

godliness," I began to see the light. "Did you ask Martha to get excused from gym?" She replied in the affirmative, without hesitation or embarrassment.

I agreed with her as to the need to keep clean, then spoke about the gymnasium floor. It was swept every day. The girls in every class took a warm shower after class, using all the soap and water they wished. I treated every cut or bruise, no matter how slight, with an antiseptic. The girls took a special foot bath, and so on. The mother listened to all this with evident interest. She had, she said simply, not understood; and the schools she had known were not like that. Martha could take gym; in fact, it would be very good for her. I thanked her, invited her to visit class, and left. I knew that the problem of the daughter's "sickness" was solved.

At the next class period, Martha was all smiles. She did everything, or tried to, and had a grand time. I did not mention my talk with her mother, feeling that the child had been right in doing what she had been told to do.

It is very likely that this family was exercising a basic right in a democracy, the right to improve, to advance. As they moved toward middle-class status, cleanliness became more than a health need. It was made a symbol of social standing, a ladder up and out of area culture. Davis and Havighurst³ give a point-by-point comparison of lower- and middle-class practices in child rearing in Negro and white families, a study showing that class differences far exceed those imputed to race.

Another kind of case appears often in our materials. New teachers learn and very fast, that homes connect with community, that the modern world is organized. Touch this child and one may touch that group of persons, a body set up to take action. The writer of the "la Casa" case teaches sixth- and seventh-grade science in a small Arizona grade school.

La Casa de Dios

In a lesson on the solar system, I explained in simple words the position of the planets in relation to the earth. I pointed out the earth, saying, "The place where we live," and added, "but whether people

³ See No. 4 in the chapter problems and projects, for what appears to be a serious difference in interpreting middle- and lower-class child-rearing practices.

live on Mars, right here," (indicating with my pointer) "is not known." José Querzica held up his hand. "Where does God live?" he asked. Although I never take lightly any question like this, I cannot teach myths as science, nor do I think I am expected to do so.

"I don't believe that God lives in our solar system," I replied. "I think that He lives inside us, in the hearts and minds of people." At this, José frowned. "But isn't God real? Doesn't He live there?" nodding at the map. "Doesn't God live there, in space somewhere?" I explained that scientists did not think so, that they were inclined toward the view I had stated. "Father Francis says there is a real God," the boy continued. "He lives in a real heaven, also." I felt that no comment was needed, or at least that I could not make comment without hurting the boy, so we went on with the science lesson.

I am certain that José spoke to his father and his father spoke to the priest. Father Francis told me that the Querzica family was worried, that he had been asked to talk with me. Did I believe in God? Yes, as an idea. Did I believe there are a heaven and a hell? Scientists do not teach this; in fact, many doubt that these places have a physical existence. Did I teach revealed truth? No, I tried to teach empirical truth. Was I not, under the guise of science, destroying the faith of children? No, I hoped not. But I was, he insisted; I was "corrupting" youth. I was "alienating" youth from the Church.

I am a man of pretty even temper, a deeply religious man in my own way, but this struck me wrong. It was too much to take. "Father," I said, "*la Casa de Dios* takes different names the world around. Everywhere, men call it differently, according to their lights." He said nothing and I went on. "As for corrupting youth, I don't know what that means. But take a prayer I learned in a Protestant home as a child, a prayer widely taught to little ones. 'Now I lay me down to sleep. I pray the Lord my soul to keep. If I should die—*die*—'" I quit because Father Francis had turned away.

With his face flushed, his eyes snapping, he stated that I did not believe in God. With this, he put on his hat and walked stiffly out of the room and, I guess, up the stairs to the principal's office.

Had I been half the scientist I hope to be, I would not have replied to Father Francis as I did. Science is not compulsive, nor are scientists argumentative. They are students seeking the truth. They have no quarrel with religion, or morals, or philosophy. Science is to be followed and believed only if one wishes. It keeps to its own sphere, that of cause-effect-cause relations.

Here is, it strikes us, an unfortunate turn of events. José asks a question about God and Mr. Gruening, the teacher, tries to answer it, then continues the science lesson. Father Francis talks with the instructor, after which he goes to the school principal. What happened next is not a matter of record, except to say that Mr. Gruening's contract was not renewed. The following year, he went to a university to complete his doctorate. He is now an instructor in the department of chemistry.

The main issue raised is very old, and very big. How should a teacher deal with the type of question José asked. For instance, can one be scientific and religious at the same time? Mr. Gruening tried, in good conscience, to be both. Empirical truth, we assume, is very important to him, and beyond that lies his personal faith. The two, as he conceives them, are not in conflict. Father Francis did not agree with this. What distinguishes his mode of thought is, probably, faith in divine truth, or revealed truth, as it is sometimes called. He felt sincerely, we believe, that the teacher was "corrupting" the young.

How should a teacher deal with José's question? Students are poles apart in their answers. We have tried working on this in a 3-10 (three students talking together for 10 minutes) discussion plan. We have also broadened the issue, using the moment to discuss general ways of handling controversial questions in a public school classroom. The outcome of these discussions has been to evolve a set of principles of use to students in formulating their individual points of view.

SCHOOL AND HOME COOPERATION

A book on problems, to repeat once more, is problem centered. The danger is that cases will be taken as a reflection of public education, a criticism of the schools. From time to time, we need to balance up the picture, to cite accounts marked closed because of satisfactory action. School and home relations are a good field for examples. At times parent cooperation is given so fully, so warmly, that it comes as a mild shock, a very pleasant surprise. The writer of the next account teaches English and coaches dramatics in a small consolidated high school.

The Board President's Daughter

Mary DeMar was among the twenty-two seniors who came to try for parts in the senior play. She is the daughter of our school-board president, and all of us [all teachers] have had some kind of run-in with her. . . . I cast plays on the basis of talent, come what may, and I make sure each year that this is understood.

Mary read for the heroine's role, giving a sloppy, unimaginative performance. It was plain to see that she could not carry the part. I asked her, along with two other girls, to read for the mother's part, at which she did much better. A week later, in announcing the cast, I assigned this role to her. She accepted, then declined, then accepted again. As we got into rehearsals, I noticed her definite lack of interest. Presently, she began to come late and to skip practices.

One night, after practice, I drove out to the principal's home. Jim and Ruth are always good to talk with, no matter what the problem. After listening to me, they asked if I had spoken to Mary. When I said "Yes, several times," Jim suggested that I go directly to her father. I agreed that this was sensible, yet I felt most reluctant to undertake it. Mr. DeMar is a farmer, a big landowner, and reputedly a stern, unbending type. On my way home, I ran over in my mind the stories I had heard about him. Aside from seeing him at school functions, and perhaps exchanging a word or two, I did not know him, and I had misgivings as to what I could accomplish.

I must admit, in retrospect, that my worries were needless. The interview was satisfactory in every way. Mr. DeMar said he knew that Mary did not take the right attitude toward her schoolwork but that every time he wanted to talk frankly with a teacher, he could not communicate what he knew or how he felt. He was told that Mary was a fine person. She was doing all right in her work, or else she would be soon. She had this interest, or that ability, etc., etc. We talked about this for at least an hour, after which we got back to the point. What should I do about the senior play? "Why, Miss Fennison, I don't know. I don't know how to handle kids, as I guess Mary's actions show. But I think if I were coaching that play, I would coach that play."

The next day, Mary DeMar and I had a long and very frank talk. I told her in effect that she had been getting by with murder in the school, that she had taken advantage of her father's position. Something in the girl's eyes, a flick of fear I guess, caused me to ease off. "Now Mary," I said. "let's hear your side of this." She cried and I

made no effort to stop her. As she recovered, the story came out. She had no teacher who had talked to her as I had, and none to whom she could talk. All of them expected the impossible of her, kept reminding her and her classmates of who she was.

I saw clearly the strain the girl had been under. Whatever impulse to punish I may have had left me completely. We talked a little about her school work and then turned to the play. We ended by reshaping part of one scene where Mary felt the mother was made to look very silly.

There is in every teacher's experience the "a-ha! moment," the instance of insight into self or others. These moments are rare and unpredictable, and, as far as we know, not fully explained. If one tries to catch them up for analysis, they slip away into nothing tangible. And yet they happen and they are real. Somehow, as with Mary DeMar, a relationship is established, a communion achieved which is more explicit, and far more educative, than mere words.

A practical feature of the case is the dominance of a stereotype, an image of a board member which prevented effective two-way communication. Mr. DeMar as president, with his imputed powers, loomed so large that Mr. DeMar as parent, a much worried human being, could not be heard. By accident and/or in near desperation, this barrier to understanding was broken, much to the teacher's satisfaction and to the relief and well-being of Mary DeMar.

FAMILY-LIFE EDUCATION

To take a final topic, what is called family-life education is a new and exciting school interest. Its center of concern is an effort to educate for better home and family living, with considerable stress on sex relations. It may be regarded, and quite naturally, by individual parents and by church groups as a dubious public school venture, for adults themselves are ignorant about sex. Few appear to know what doctors and psychologists say they should know in order to keep good emotional and physical health, as well as good human relations.

A good example of school work in family-life education is the teaching of Mrs. Elizabeth Force at Toms River, New Jersey, a

town of about seven thousand. The course of study to be described has the approval of the school board and the support of many parents, civic groups, and church groups.⁴

Teaching for Better Home Living

Our classroom is a large, homelike living room at school. It has rugs, paneled walls, colorful draperies, and small tables for study groups. The room belongs to the boys and girls, past and present, in family-life education, and they take pride in its appearance. One point in particular I should mention. We make it a point of honor that conversations in this room will not be repeated outside, that we shall live and think within a real-life family situation.

When guests are invited to class, they are treated as if they were visiting us in our homes. These guests are doctors, ministers, lawyers, nurses, engaged couples, and the newly married. Students question them, much as they ask questions of me, and all queries are handled with sincerity and frankness. When I note sly glances or hear snickering, I treat these expressions as signs of discomfort. "Now something has been said which disturbs you. Perhaps a term you have not heard before. This course is for mature students and we need a vocabulary. I will be glad to repeat, or to explain, any point."

Over the years, teen-agers have asked an unbelievable number of questions, mostly about their own boy-girl problems. Here are a few of their major interests and concerns.

1. What makes girls act so peculiarly? This question is asked by boys, to whom girls are the great enigma. I explain that girls mature faster than boys, that nature prepares them for their wife-mother role. When boys are still roughhousing, girls are looking for dates. This creates a problem at school dances. Boys play tag or sit on the sidelines, and the girls must stand about or dance together. They must wait for their boy friends to grow up or else must date older boys.

2. Must a girl "neck" when she goes on a date? If so, will boys talk about her? I state that no girl has to "neck," yet there is nothing wrong in showing affection to someone she cares for. Some girls fear competition with the few promiscuous girls in and out of school. I point out that these latter girls are not "oversexed," or anything like

⁴ Adapted from Elizabeth Force, "What Teen Agers Want to Know about Sex and Marriage," *The American Magazine*, January 1953, pp. 34ff. Used by permission of *The American Magazine* and copyrighted by the Crowell-Collier Publishing Company.

that. They are, as a rule, lonely and unloved; they are hungry for attention and affection.

I try not to make students feel guilty about their urge for intimacy with the opposite sex. "Nature's prime function," I assert, "is to propagate the race. Love is a part of the plan for people." I take up the problem of boys who cannot afford to marry young, those preparing for professions. "So you girls just have to play fair. You cannot lead boys on and expect to hold their respect." Boys admit that they do kiss and tell and so, for that matter, do the girls. Own sex (or ingroup) codes have much in common.

3. Is a girl bad if she gets pregnant before marriage? This is a hard question to answer. I may bring to class a young mother, or a mother and father if I can get him, along with their new baby. Of course girls adore the baby, and as for the boys, they find it hard to keep from being as "mushy" as the girls. "Look," I say, "here is a pretty fine specimen. What does this child need in order to get a good start in life?" Answers are quick and to the point. A good home. Two parents who love the baby and love each other. And then more questions. "Are babies born that are not wanted? What happens to them? Does a baby have any rights? Is it fair to have a baby that is not loved?" Adolescents are very sensitive to fair play, to personal honor and integrity.

Having made some first points, I try to go more deeply into the subject. Since our society rests upon the family unit, mating carries with it a great obligation. A mature person accept responsibility for his or her acts. He (or she) learns to control the sex urge, just as he controls any other appetite or emotion, for example, hates and fears. When students nod that this reasoning makes sense, I continue. It may happen that the unexpected baby is loved and made welcome, and things turn out all right. More often, the baby is resented. Neither parent wants the child nor do they want each other. This is trouble of the worst kind. It is not only unfair to the child, but, if it were not controlled, it would break up our society.

4. Can one fall in love, "the kind of love one marries on," at the age of seventeen or eighteen years? One girl, a seventeen-year old, said she had been "engaged" to four different boys in the past two years. The students pounced on her as being fickle. I explained that most teen-agers tend to love rather broadly at first, but, as they mature, they grow more discriminating. It is this discernment, this wise choice of a lifelong partner, that distinguishes "puppy love" from the enduring affection on which good marriages are founded. From this point, we

move into the characteristics wanted in a marriage mate, the bases for making a wise decision.

5. Do parents have any right to pry into one's private affairs? Adolescents, especially middle-class youth, explode at parent restraint and interference. They want to be believed and trusted and, otherwise, left alone. The group will usually agree that parents should know where their young are going, with whom, and when they will be back. Beyond these essentials, high school boys and girls assert they are old enough to take care of themselves. Parents do not, in general, accept this, though their attitudes depend upon situations.

6. When should a person get married? Young people are marrying younger, much younger than in my youth. Nine of our senior girls are wearing engagement rings. While I rejoice in their happiness, I am conservative enough to make the point, or try to, that it is better to marry after the age of twenty, that one's life is more stabilized and his choice can be more mature. Students ask other questions in connection with the one stated. How much money does it take to set up a home? Should a wife work for pay? How many children should the couple have? Even people in love will fuss, and what is the best way of making up afterwards?

7. Do settled married couples stop loving? Or do they go on loving but in a different way? What bothers most students here is their own home life. Why do parents spend so much time at work and so little time together in having fun? "My parents just kind of ignore each other, as if their love had died," is a sentiment teen-agers express often and in various forms.

I point out that parents can love more deeply than youth can comprehend. One can sense this in little things the young may not observe—a chance caress, a remembrance of times past, a bit of private humor, a plan or dream so fully shared that it is seldom discussed. Another line of reasoning is more convincing to youth. What happens when the family comes under stress? A death, an accident, unemployment, financial loss? If people pull together, that might be taken as an evidence of love. This is admitted, and we search for examples.

8. How do you teach children about sex? The sex question is often phrased this way. I can never tell how much my students know about reproduction or how crude their ideas may be. They are loath to ask questions which would disclose their ignorance, and they do not seek the advice of parents and others as they should. All things considered, I find that a good classroom film is my best approach to the sex interests of adolescent youth.

"While these films are for young children, they will show you how you can explain sex to your children much later on." The first movie, *Human Beginnings*, is for the preschool group; the second, *Human Growth*, is best at about the sixth grade level. The first film settles down my students and prepares them for the second. This latter movie shows, with simple dignity and scientific exactness, the human reproductive system, male and female. It explains nature's sound reasons for menstruation, and depicts in stages the birth of a baby.

Adolescents display two dominant reactions in discussing these films. Both boys and girls say, first, they should have seen these movies years ago, and second, they have received little factual information from their parents. Third, there are a fortunate few who can exclaim: "Gee, I've always gone to my dad [or mother] with anything!"

The case has been let run to some length because over half our students find it the high point of the chapter. Many do not agree with Mrs. Forbes in all that she says and does, yet all believe that schools should help to strengthen family life and structure. How to devise a program of family-life education, including its objectives, and to conduct it in cooperation with homes, churches, and other area agencies, make an excellent topic for panel discussion. The family is very precious in our cultural heritage, a remark that is trite only because its truth has been so long recognized.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Could you, as school principal, have helped Ellen's mother to redefine that impossible situation? How? Be specific in your answer.
2. Appoint a committee to interview a sample of grade and high school teachers on their "troubles" with parents. Record the points they make and report to the class. Is there an over-all difference between problems by school level?
3. Select two student volunteers, each to make a 10-minute speech to the class on school and home cooperation. Devise beforehand a five-to-ten point rating scale on which to rate the worth of these presentations. After the class has filled in these forms, turn them over to the speakers to score and report. Discuss the ratings.
4. Write a term paper on "Social Class Differences in Child Rearing." Consider, particularly, two researches which appear to be in conflict in their findings: A. Davis and R. Havighurst, in *American*

Sociological Review, 1946, 11: 698-710; and E. Maccoby, et al., in A. P. Coladarci, *Educational Psychology* (Dryden, 1955, pp. 97-121).

5. Arrange a panel discussion on how young people can make the most out of their marriage. Each panel member should do some reading on this, for example, the Burgess-Wallin or Landis reference.

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CHAPTER 11

Area Study and Action Issues

I submit that colleges and schools should be more concerned about the quality of community life, how to organize and administer it. Human needs here are very real and they are increasing.

—L. H. MURLINE

To most school personnel, a community is not primarily a place, a structured mode of life. It is people-in-action, people at work, at play, at home, at worship; people living, dying, striving, loafing, thinking, feeling. A community is a life process within a field of social forces. It is, more than one may be inclined to think, a matter of planning and working together to meet human needs. Group planning is traditional in our society, the bedrock of democracy. It is because planning has fallen so far into disuse that schools are assuming a new leadership role, that of implementing public policy on area health, safety, and welfare issues.

While the above idea underlies this book as a whole, it is worth exploring from the angle of the total community. First, a class study of population change in a metropolitan area and the need for civic planning. Next, some examples of the school's community services, and then a case on conservation education. The chapter itself is preliminary to the fuller analysis of community made in Part Three.

GROWTH OF SUBURBIA

Cases report community studies of various kinds. One kind is a survey by a college-student group of metropolitan planning districts. Before giving an example, a word in general orientation may be useful.

The United States today has more people than did all Europe in 1752. The nation's growth, as is well known, has been from scattered colonies of settlers in New England, the South and Southwest, into 165 million persons spread over a continental area of more than three million square miles. If we assume that the present rate of increase continues, the estimated population for 1970 is from 189 to 204 million.¹ Through all our history, the cityward drift of people has been dominant. A hundred years ago, 85 per cent of all Americans lived in rural places; now less than 36 per cent live in the country and only 16 per cent on farms. For the decade past, the fastest growing place has been the suburbs, so-called "fringe areas" of metropolitan districts.

How does a college class study a community of its choice? The case given is a random selection. The group divided into committees, each with its own study objectives and work plan. Each wrote a report, and all these reports were combined into a final report by a team of student writers. This paper was mimeographed and made the subject of several class discussions. Although the final report is too long to print in detail, a summary account will suggest its general character.

A Study of Suburbia

If the present trend continues, all southern Michigan will be suburban within 50 years. This seems a sound prediction, everything considered, and it is not news to Detroit metropolitan planners. Many local educators have noted the change, and commented on its speed, but few of them have written anything much on the human problems now in sight.

One who drives out of Detroit in any direction, except across the river into Canada, will see many strange sights. Here are big ranch-

¹ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports, Population Estimates*, ser. P-25, no. 78, August 21, 1953.

type homes side by side with little junky places, roofed-over holes in the ground. Old estates, suggesting a well-ordered mode of life, front up to crazy-quilt clusters of shacks and stores and factories, gas stations, beer joints, nurseries, produce markets, everything. Everything is here, if one looks long enough to find it, and nothing seems to make much sense. The outer suburban pattern has, like Topsy, "just growed." There has been some planning, to be sure, but nowise the amount needed.

Why? What has happened? Most people have gone to great cities to make money, expecting to return home. This is very true of the countless persons, white and Negro, who have come to the Motor City to work in its vast automobile plants. Now, many who make good money stay on to spend it, and they have told our study committee time and again that nothing short of an H-bomb will drive them out. "Man will either get out of the big city or he will blow up with the city," said Frank Lloyd Wright. When this was quoted to persons interviewed, their common reaction was to say that they would wait and see!

In the opinion of metropolitan planning officials, the growth of Lower Michigan has been due to a combination of factors. The basic ones are economic: decentralization of industry, low taxes on real property, good roads, and high per-capita ownership of automobiles. There are other factors—the desire of city people for elbow room, a home to take pride in, sunshine, fresh air, and better schools.

One of our committees had a talk with a Mr. Goodenough, an elderly farmer who lives a few miles south of Flint. He was once a big landowner, but, little by little, he sold parcels of land to real-estate companies that subdivided and built small homes to sell on the installment plan. "I needed the money," he said. "I believed it was a good thing to sell some land and let folks come in to live. Now, I am against it. I am against selling any more land."

The story Mr. Goodenough tells is one we have heard over and over. People who bought homes began presently to make demands for better roads, fire protection, sewage disposal, bigger and better schools. "And also," said the farmer, "they go hellin' around. They get drunk, wreck their cars, and carry on." The result is that tax rates go up, with the well-off farmers [and others] like our informant footing a large share of the bill.

Another class committee studied the pattern of area growth. They investigated community services, such as shopping; newspaper circulation; ownership of TV sets; church attendance; and opportunities for

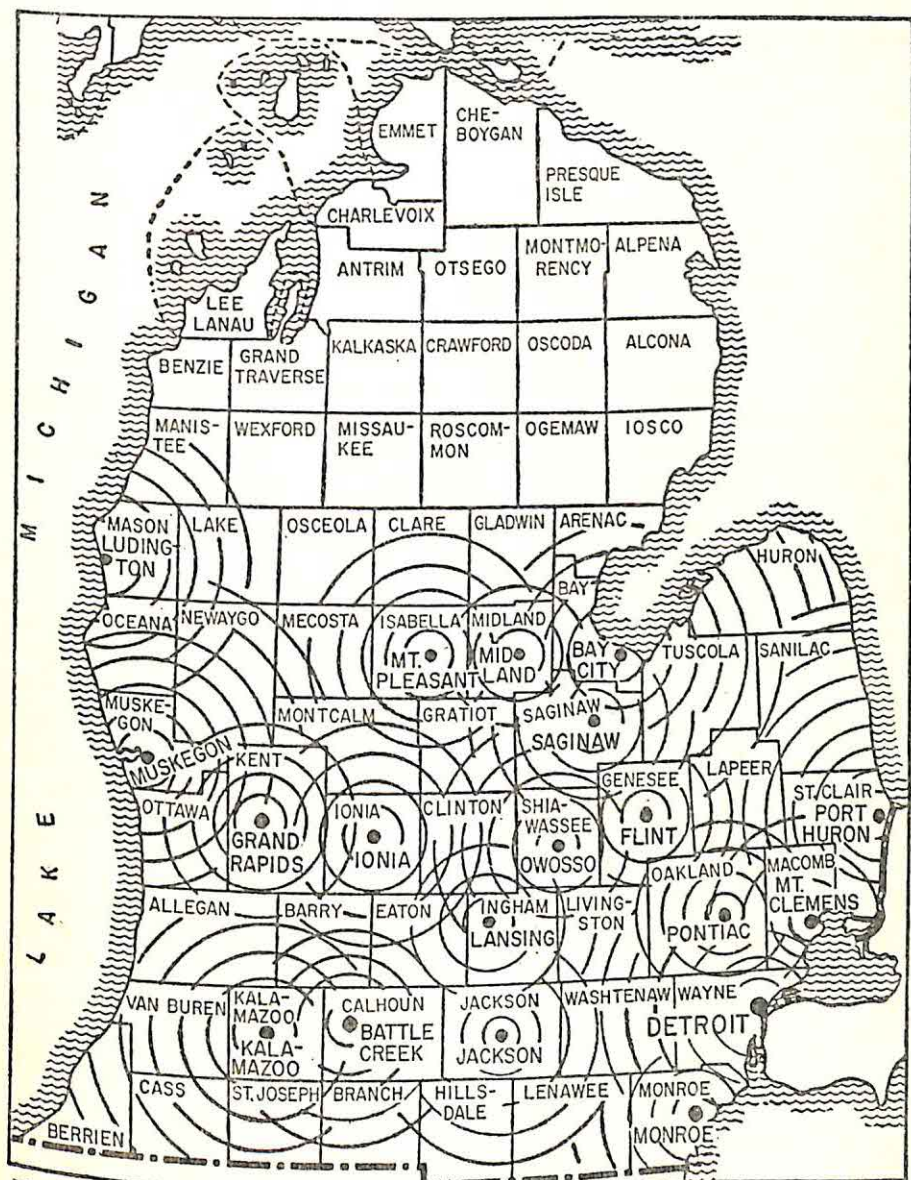


FIGURE 3. Suburban Michigan, 1955. (From James Pooler of the Detroit Free Press.)

leisure pursuits. In general, the Park and Burgess "zonal theory" found in Chicago did not appear to hold. First, overlaps between towns, the so-called "contested service areas," were numerous and important. People were pulled in opposite directions, buying supplies here, holding membership somewhere else, and sending children to school at still a different place. Second, big outlying business centers played hob with the old theory of driving to town, as country people do. In short, the zonal idea of community structure and development could not be substantiated.

A third team of students concentrated on civic organizations. Their findings suggest that in Michigan suburbia, the business and professional class does not mix very much with the factory-worker class. Members of these two classes may live rather close together, even side by side, yet have almost no mutual interests and common memberships. We had planned to apply the Warner social stratification scale to a sample of families, but this proved to be too much of a work task.

Our survey group has been most interested in the prospect of civic planning for area health, welfare, safety, and education. Can people be pulled together on a local area basis? Or will businessmen take a business point of view, factory workers a labor union point of view? If people can no longer plan for the common good, it is hard to see what meaning can be given to the concept of community. And what will happen to public education, for schools depend upon local area interest and support?

A fifth study group gave its time to the topic of cooperation. It seemed to these students from their interviews in schools that teachers cannot use the same interests to unite town and country children. The 4-H club, for instance, does not appeal to urban boys who have no ambition to raise a prize steer. On the other hand, the Scouts are an urban institution. Their stress on woodcraft, campouts, and "roughing it" may not pull the country boy. No doubt, common interests do exist, as in photography and gardening, assuming the costs of projects can be met.

A difficult problem is how to secure adult cooperation. At Lansing, a State Department man told our group that Michigan needs 270 million dollars for new schools, if we are to meet population increase. He spoke also about the number of quarrels that are going on over "the school problem." For example, townsmen want new schools in town, and countrymen want them in the country. He said he had yet to see a place where there was no opposition to school consolidation and the redistricting of school areas.

Is it idealistic to think about an over-all plan for the growth and development of Lower Michigan suburban areas? We do not think so. In our opinion, this is the only practical way to handle the problem. The over-all plan would be big enough, and free enough, so that localities could plan within it. The idea in a democracy is freedom within unity, the right of people to make choices among alternatives.

This is not the research of the mature scholar, yet for these students—and their instructor—it was a major learning experience. It covered a month, with field trips on weekends. If a study of this kind is contemplated by a college class, the Wayne group's work plan, given above, is clear enough to be reviewed and improved. A detailed manual will assist the class in framing questions to be asked.²

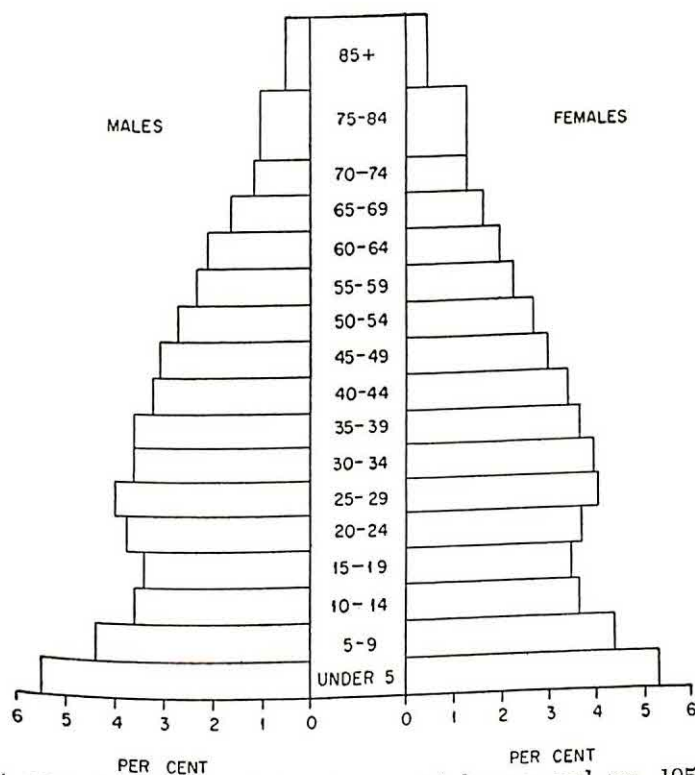


FIGURE 4. United States population (per cent) by age and sex, 1950. (From U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1950, General Characteristics, Table 37.*)

² The manual is R. L. Warren, *Studying Your Community*, Russell Sage Foundation, 1955.

The report stressed the growth of population in Lower Michigan, chiefly in the Detroit metropolitan area. Although we had to delete these statistics, a knowledge of population make-up, distribution, changes, and characteristics is vital to an understanding of school and community relations. A review of the literature might well be made the subject of a class committee report.

To illustrate the point, Thaden³ divides population into three categories: *school*, *preschool*, and *adult*. The preschool group is reckoned as under five; the school group, from five to nineteen years old. In 1950, preschool children (Figure 4) were 10.7 per cent of the nation's total population, in contrast to 8 per cent in 1940. Numerical increase in this decade was from 10.5 million to 16.1 million, a change greater than for any other 5-year age category.

The school age group totaled nearly 35 million, or 23.2 per cent of the United States population, and the estimate for 1960 was 50 million. This will place an extremely heavy burden on the schools; in fact many schools are already in a desperate plight. A case study or two in the next chapter will show a little of what this means in terms of education and human relations.

COMMUNITY SERVICES

Schools take pride in their services to their environing communities. The typical case is an area health or welfare project in which pupils participate, or a school-led clean-up campaign, a beautification drive, a traffic-control movement, or the like. A polio project will illustrate. This was conducted in 1953, two years before mass vaccinations were general. National officials were in charge, with the total community cooperating. The writer is a principal in the Marquette school system.

Operation Lollipop

That was its name, with candy manufacturers furnishing some 20,000 lollipops for children after the needle went in. Costs were over \$200,000 for the gamma globulin serum alone, \$20.00 a child for the

³ J. F. Thaden, in W. B. Brookover, *A Sociology of Education*, American Book, 1955, chap. 15.

more than 10,000 youngsters who showed up. To put the project in perspective, I must say a word about Marquette.

Marquette is in Michigan's northland, a thriving small city, whose great iron-ore docks jut out into Lake Superior. A pine and spruce wilderness surrounds the town, and clean winds sweep in from Canada, across the lake. Town and country are the home of hunters, trappers, fishermen, and outdoor workers of various kinds. No one would suspect the area of harboring polio, which is apparently the case. In 1952, there were 17 victims of this dread disease and, in the first half of 1953, 21 cases gave us cause for alarm.

In July, 1953, Marquette and vicinity were invited by the Office of Defense Mobilization in Washington, D.C., to participate in a polio control project. Under auspices of the national Red Cross and the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, and with the full cooperation and assistance of the local medical profession, public health officers, the schools, and a list of civic and welfare agencies, plans were laid for the vaccination of all children aged one year to ten years.

The plan was to establish medical stations, to allocate equipment and supplies, arrange transportation to and from the stations, assemble 35 physicians and 130 nurses, secure and instruct over a thousand volunteer helpers, including the school personnel available. It was assumed that word-of-mouth, press, and radio publicity had reached the parents of some 8,000 boys and girls, and that a large portion of this number would come for a polio shot, depending on parental understanding and cooperation.

On the date set, lines of children had formed before the doctors and the nurses arrived at stations. Youngsters came from all kinds of homes—from trappers and merchants to "resorters" and dock workers. Some children laughed as they held out their arm, but most were scared and a number cried and protested. Just after the stinging GG serum was pumped in, and sometimes just before, a nurse would pop a candy sucker into the child's mouth. On their way out, even the timid ones waved their suckers and shouted at the waiting line. In the three-day period, over 10,000 boys and girls were vaccinated, a number which exceeded expectations because some children had been brought in by parents in two adjacent counties.

What has just been said implies the point I wish to stress, namely, the *work of volunteer helpers*. For example, housewives, teachers, and others drove cars and trucks into every byway, persuading parents that vaccination against polio was an imperative; transported children to the appropriate medical station; watched over them; and then re-

turned them to their homes. So far as is known, no resident family was missed and there were no traffic or other accidents. No one really knows how much an adult community will do for its young people if the project is judged sound and the community can be aroused.

Writings on school and community are full of instances like this, of situations in which schools often are more central. The type of area service which never seems to get the attention it deserves—in fact, may be completely overlooked, is far less formal than the polio project. Here is a report by a high school athletic director. He tells about a young coach he has added to the staff, and about the organization of a city-wide "fair play" league. The report is tape-recorded.

To set the scene, Mine City is an Eastern coal-mining community, "a rough, tough town" of about 28,000 population. Most residents are of foreign birth or direct foreign descent. Neither these persons nor their children care much, on the average, about school, except for its athletics.

The Fair Play League

Our football players are sought by—shall I say—all the big, paying colleges. It is not this I shall tell about but rather the work this past summer by Mike McKenna in organizing the small fry.

Coach Mike had it tough when I brought him in last fall. I put him coaching end on the varsity, that being the position he had played at Notre Dame, but he had to knock the stuffin' out of a smart lad or two before they would pay attention. Mike had what it takes, a conclusion I reached then and have never changed.

Now and then I gabbed with McKenna, expounding my concept of our athletic system. "These big, husky teams we have," I'd say. "Well, where did they come from? Why, down in the grade schools. Out on the sand lots. In gang fights. Wherever kids hold their rough and tumbles. Wherever they toughen up. Get guts and know-how and team spirit." So I'd lecture him about our feeders—the channels through which we get material. He'd take it all in, not saying much, but when I said he was to get acquainted with the small fry, get 'em organized and competing, why he jumped at that.

And so I come to the Sunday afternoon I want to talk about. Mike has got some kid softball teams set up and is officiating at a game. I happened to come by, saw him working the game, and stopped. He

was takin' a lot of kiddin' from the sidelines. "Hey, punk, you blind?" "You on their side, buster?" "Gonna throw the game, huh?" Stuff like that. Mike didn't nerve up, or rag back. He kept calling them as he saw them, which is an ump's job. It is a thankless job I'll say, a job—to use the kids' words—for the meatheads!

And so, as they say in the movies, Mike calls a close one. A young punk jumps up from his seat, prances a bit, then goes for the Mick. Mike didn't hesitate; he knew better'n that. He waved the guy off the diamond, walking toward him. The chap meant business and he took a swing. Mike pushed him back toward the sidelines, and then he swung again, landing this time. Stepping in, the Mick measured him for an uppercut and knocked him cold. One smack, as I say, and the punk was on the ground.

As Mike started to pick him and carry him off, the crowd—or part of it—came rushin' out. Mike stopped them dead with words, just words. Pretty a sight as I've ever seen. What he did was to set a date for a fight [with gloves] between the tough and himself. The match was on a Monday evening at the gym, this being my idea of how it should be done. The Mick carried the guy until the kid began to look good, then showed him how to box. I called the match a draw, as Mike and I had agreed beforehand. The guys shook hands and passed compliments and that, sir, is the way friends are made in the world of sports.

Mine City, as I said, is full of tough ones. The town as Dave, my son, puts it, is "all ganged up." Gangs raid back and forth, chasing one another with rocks, beer bottles, clubs, at times knives. Not so good, is it? Our idea, the Mick's and mine, was not to bust up the groups for nobody yet has been able to do that. It was to set 'em up as teams, to "legitimize" (*Professor*: Is that a word? I have heard you use it.) their scraps, give them some big muscle exercise. How to do it was our problem, and Mike said he'd handle it.

Here the guy really did something smart. He brought the dads in, and that's how we got the Mine City Fair Play League, which is now about the hottest outfit in this town. I should tell about that. I'll try to think out just how it went.

I guess Mike got after the mothers first. I remember him making the rounds of the churches, talking to them in groups. I don't know how he talked to them but I do know his line with the dads. He chased the men down, some on the street, in taverns, at their lunch clubs, anywhere. His story was the need for fair and honest officiating at kid games. *Athletics teach sportsmanship*. Yeh, he'd crack, do they?

Is that the truth? Then would come his tales. He'd show what the kids are like—hoodlums. Thus, the need for—and he'd drive home his point.

Well, the dads took to this. The town took to it, for it made a lotta sense. Out of this campaign to interest people in the kids, there came, first, a "school for umpires," with real tests to pass before a man is certified as an FPL official. More important, I do believe, is the League's "control council." This is a bunch of top-rated guys who meet to settle the disputes that come in from the sand lots. They meet to arbitrate them or, simply, to interpret the rules.

Yes, one more point. It has taken some money to set up this League of 42 teams. No pay to the umps but some costs for transportation, equipment, a few rentals, awards to winners and runners-up, year-end dinner, like that. For all of this, the Mick has nicked the top crowd, the mine bosses, businessmen, the big shots in the town. They were, he says, waiting to give, glad for the touch. I'd say, myself, the Mick has a blarney tongue. It's nice to think that I picked him, that pretty soon I'll hand him my job!

Not all old hands have the opportunity to select their successor, to fit him in, and none could feel better about his good luck than does the man who gave this report. The point of the case is to understand that this *is* an area service, a service of the school to its community. The literature in the field would be much more complete if writers would include this type of material.

Our classroom use of the case is to start an inquiry into the community recreational picture. What play centers and facilities are provided? To what extent are they used? How well are settlements, playgrounds, leagues, etc., staffed? How are they financed? Are they coordinated with the public schools? What problems in human relations are to be found? What is needed to improve the setup?

CONSERVATION OF RESOURCES

Conservation education, in most of its forms, is less dramatic than, say, a school drive to sell magazines. In most parts of the nation, it is a continuous emphasis in public schools, an around-the-year point of stress. On the West Coast, for example, one can

find elaborate grade and high school study units on such topics as the conservation of forests, lands, water, minerals, wildlife, fish, shellfish, and on predator control. An illustration is a unit on the Pacific salmon, written by a high school life-science teacher.

Save the Silver Horde

Our plan of work in conservation education is to do four or five study units per semester. Last semester the class voted to make an intensive study of the Pacific salmon, a resource doomed to go the way of the bison, caribou, beaver, etc., unless more can be done to conserve and restock.

We began first just to talk about the salmon. Which class members had fished for them? Where, and how, and with what luck? Were they game fighters, a sportsman's dream? Were they good to eat? Would it be fun to attend an Indian salmon bake? This was to be our first trip, and I shall tell about it after a word or two on our study plan and reading materials.

My theory is not to do for students what they can do for themselves, not to deprive them of the right to work for an education. From an interest in salmon, the group moved to the question of how to shape a study plan. We did not hurry this planning period, nor did I make the decisions. In ways that are no doubt a commonplace, teacher and class devised ten or a dozen topics, then narrowed the final choice to four: nature of the salmon, its life history, the fishing industry, and conservation work.

The next step was to assemble study materials and to plan the trips we might wish to make. There is no lack of publications, many written especially for grade and high school students. A large number are supplied free by state and national bureaus and services, and by local and state groups such as the very active Sportsmen's Clubs. The same is true of films on hatchery processes, restocking procedures, water pollution and its control, sport fishing, and so on. As for trips, we are fortunate in our location. Westport on the Pacific, a center of sports fishing, and Hoodport, on the Hood Canal, with an excellent hatchery, are readily accessible to us. There is no large cannery within easy distance, so that we cover this phase of the unit by films and readings.

To return to the salmon bake, we left school late one Friday afternoon and arrived at the Skokomish Reservation in time to see the salmon caught. This was November, and the dogs and silvers were running up the little feeder streams to spawn. We watched these big

fellows smash up over the gravel, jump falls, wriggle over the bars, push rocks and logs to one side. The brook they happened to be in was the place of their birth (or plant) and of their death, for our dogs, silvers, kings, humpies, and the rest are not like the Atlantic salmon. All die after spawning, having used their stored-up energy in this grand gesture of life in death.⁴ Our steelheads are regarded by some persons as an exception in that they return to the ocean after spawning in fresh water. They are not, however, a salmon but a trout.

We watched the Indians hook out salmon or club them, dress them, and cut them into chunks and strips, then smoke them over an open alderwood fire. The fish are prime as they enter the creeks, and delicious to eat. The meat is light to pink with not much difference in taste. I should add that only Indians on reservation can by law catch fish in this way, a custom they retain by treaty right. White poaching is punishable by a heavy fine.

I try to give each study unit a firm, scientific base, thus adding to student knowledge of the subject and increasing respect for science in everyday life. In regard to the present unit, our concern is with a fish family called *Salmo*, including true salmon, trout, white fish, smelt, etc., all fish with an adipose fin on the back, except catfish. The Pacific salmon are a separate genus, *Oncorhynchus*, meaning "hook nosed." Species differences are important, as I shall now explain [deleted].

We begin the next topic, the life cycle, with a visit to a state hatchery, usually at Hoodspoint. Here the students see the eggs and milt taken from fish and mixed. They study seedbeds and note the conditions of incubation. They study fry up to the size of fingerlings, and it is explained how salmon are transported and released in the upper streams. We bring back to school eggs in various stages of development and study them under microscopes.

The third topic is the salmon industry. We make maps to show the spread of the industry from California to the Siberian Arctic, then down the Asiatic coast to China and Japan. West Coast fisheries date from the early 1860s, when three New Englanders, the brothers Hume and a tinsmith, worked out a method of canning salmon. This was on the Sacramento River, and later on the Columbia. Soon fish canneries began to appear at these places and elsewhere, and within a few years 8

⁴ Authors' note: So-called "blanks" may be noted, salmon which do not spawn. Sex glands have not developed. See V. T. Boucher, "Mysteries of the Salmon," *The Alaskan Sportsman*, April, 1955, pp. 6-11. For a classic chapter by an eminent authority, see John H. Storer, *The Web of Life*. Devin-Adair, 1953, chap. 16. For fish pictures, see *Life Magazine*, June 27, 1955.

canning plants dotted the Puget Sound region, then spread on to lower Alaska.

As business thrived, more and more plants came in and presently a long series of "salmon wars" broke out. Students, and the general public, know little about this phase of West Coast history. In general, it was a period of imported Chinese contract labor, fish piracies, inferior fish packs, swamped markets at home and abroad, price-cutting to squeeze out competitors, and fierce competition up and down the line. There was, toward the end of the wars, an increasing interest in the depletion of the "inexhaustible" supply of salmon, accompanied by some attention to artificial propagation.

Usually at this point in a conservation unit, we try to find someone, some old-timer, who can bring the past to life, make it alive and vital for the young, the inheritors of our sad mistakes. In the salmon unit, we have a choice among a number of informants. There are old boat captains, seiners, handline fishermen, trawlers, and others, with whom to talk. There are persons who were or are prominent in the salmon industry, the factory owners and/or managers. In one way or another, we listen to men who have seen it, who tell of days when salmon were thick, when they overran the waters and sought, it would appear, to live upon the land. It comes as a shock to students to hear these facts about places they have fished, often without a strike. "What has happened?" they ask. "How did this slaughter take place?" This is, of course, the story of conservation education.

Last fall, we had a rare bit of luck. After much public debate pro and con, the state authorities permitted drag seiners to "sweep" the Hood Canal, an arm of the Pacific, 75 miles of blue, cold water. The aim was to net coarse fish, i.e., dogfish, skate, starfish, ratfish, hake, so on, and to sell the market fish such as cod, sole, and flounder, which were caught. The drag was authorized as a conservation measure, for the coarse fish eat into the food chain of the salmon, chiefly plankton and minute aquatic life such as snails, shrimp, crabs, and oyster spat. Coarse fish also feed on the eggs and the young of other fish. Students were able to spend an afternoon aboard the seiners, talking with the men and watching them net, dump, and sort their hauls.

The final unit is the high point of the course. Facts show what is happening, namely, *the inevitable end of the great silver horde* unless more, much more, is done to conserve and restock. Immediate reasons are heavy commercial fishing, dumping wastes into salmon waters, and increase of coarse fish (the Hood Canal catch was over 600,000 tons). What ichthyologists call the "efficient causes" are the ever-grow-

ing need for water power, hence more and bigger dams, and the timbering off of mountain slopes and cultivation of valleys. The latter conditions cause breeding streams to dry up. The issue is a question of values. How much does the public want to save the salmon? What will people do or give to protect and increase this great national resource?

Students study and try to assess current conservation efforts, especially the fish laws and hatchery programs. Many become members of our high school Conservation Club, after which they join local and state conservation movements. Class spokesmen may address local civic groups or debate current issues before them. Often a letter-writing project is apropos, as well as active campaigning for or against some legislative bill.

This is the kind of education we happen to like. It is not, to be certain, confined to conservation, yet it is strong in this field. Wherever it is found it will have several identifying marks. To analyze the case, to smoke out its meanings and implications, to apply these to local resource conservation, is good use of a class period. It is quite possible, in this short time, to help some students develop interests which may last for a lifetime.

In concluding, consider some features of the case. This kind of teaching is what many high school pupils call "good stuff." They enjoy it, get excited about it, get meaning out of it. Second, the teacher likes his field; *he works at his job*, which is more than can be said for all of us. Third, instruction rests on a wide-ranging, deep-going scholarship. It is a combination of the scientific and the practical, the learned and the commonsense. Fourth, if one will count the doing activities—we make, we do, we plan, we find, so on—he will see that "knowledge about" is well mixed with "experience in," a pretty good thing in most kinds of learning. Fifth, this teacher may never have heard of so-called "core work," but note the subject fields he draws upon in problem solving.

Sixth, much use is made of local resources, for instance the fish hatchery, the old fishermen, the boats seining. Seventh, and the list is nowise complete, the course of study is not the end. Pupils are encouraged to continue their interests, to mature them further, via the high school club and otherwise. If conservation education is ever to catch on, to win the place its importance would

appear to merit, that can only happen because it has become a vital community movement at local, state, and national levels. Schools are the major channels for this, the builders of appropriate attitudes and work habits in the young.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. It has been suggested that your class make a community survey. This is a big project and time taking. Could this work be cut to practical size by studying some one aspect of community, such as recreation? Discuss this with your instructor.

2. If this is feasible, invite an authority on population to address your class. Failing this, should the topic be covered by a student report? The Thaden reference is good.

3. Have you heard of "exurbia"? This is defined as a residential area beyond the suburbs (but still not in open country) where the average family head is said "to earn \$25,000 a year but requires \$60,000 to live." If time permits, make a report to class on A. C. Spector's *The Exurbanites* (Lippincott, 1955).

4. Are you interested in big business, especially in its ethics? Make an analysis for your class of C. Hawley's *Cash McCall*, a novel about a man who buys and sells companies yet disclaims that money-making is his dominant motive. The book is fiction.

5. If your class is interested and your instructor approves, organize a panel discussion on conservation education in your state. Write the State Department of Public Instruction for their literature on the subject.

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CHAPTER 12

School Head and Staff Relations

The pitcher who doesn't get good team support is not going to win very many ball games.

—From a Speech by a High School Valedictorian

Superintendents and principals have figured in past chapters but not to the extent of their significance. As the school's chief executive officers, they are prestigious persons. They are, under board policy and law, responsible for a school or school system, for its life, work, and well-being. In matters great and small, they are decision makers. In part, their problems are technical—school law, budgets, schedules, buildings, maintenance. In part their problems are human, in the sense of their relations to staffs, the school board, pupils, parents, groups, and the public. It is in a segment of the latter area that our present interests lie.

It is significant perhaps that more cases come under school-head and teaching-staff relations than under any of the other categories except two. As usual, the range of data far exceeds the chapter's grasp. The topics to be discussed are both critical and commonplace. First, what can be called bad teaching conditions. Second, school faculty meetings. Third, the problem of more pay for teachers and, in the case given, an effort to unionize. Since this chapter will end Part Two, a classroom group will need to consider how it wants to make a review.

BAD TEACHING CONDITIONS

Work conditions in the schools are the subject of a great many teacher reports. The case below calls attention to a faculty in which morale is low. The situation takes the form of a squabble over reading materials. The writer is an instructor in the Everett School.

Whose Materials?

I have been at Everett for four years, and for four years we have had a prolonged fight within the staff. This present one is over supplemental readings—books, pamphlets, charts, etc. Much of this is giveaway stuff; at least it costs no more than postage.

At the regular faculty meeting two weeks ago, Mrs. A complained about her lack of good readings for a seventh-grade unit she was planning. The assistant principal, in charge during Mr. Hare's [principal] illness, said that the school book fund was overspent, that nothing could be done until we got next year's budget. This led Mr. J, who teaches sixth, to offer Mrs. A the loan of some pamphlets, which she grabbed up fast.

Yesterday, at a staff meeting called on an emergency matter, Mrs. A as usual put her concerns first. She said she had tried out the materials "given" her by J, and that two in particular were very good. These were, she believed, much too difficult for the sixth grade, and so she would keep them for her class. She thanked J for them, as if he had deeded them to her in his will.

J is a pretty outspoken man. He declined A's piracy with thanks, and asked that the materials be returned. When she started to argue the point, he cut in and said that his sixth graders liked the materials, that they read them very well. Not to be shut up, Mrs. A kept talking until another faculty member picked up the dispute, injecting her bright idea.

Didn't these pamphlets cost something? Well, who had paid for them? J replied that one was free and one had cost a few cents. He supposed this had been paid out of the supplemental materials fund before it went broke. "Just so," party-of-the-third-part said, beating Mrs. A to the punch. "The materials are, therefore, school property. Anyone is entitled to use them." Mrs. A nodded vigorous agreement, then beamed in an I-told-you-so way.

When J was silent, old A again charged in. She had known all this

all along (like heck she had!), and furthermore she would make another point. Each faculty member should turn in to the assistant principal a list of all the supplemental readings which she had. The collection could then be studied and assigned to proper grades and rooms.

I got so mad that he got up and walked out, not saying a word. Other staff members began to carp at Mrs. A. When someone called her "a chronic troublemaker," she hit the ceiling for sure. Shouting that she had been insulted, she too walked out.

Our assistant principal was, as usual, at her pretty awful best. She, "personally," regretted this unpleasantness and "personally" hoped that things could be worked out. On this high note, this pious wish, the meeting was adjourned. I am confident that when we have our next regular meeting, no one will remember about the reading materials. We shall be too deep in some other petty fuss.

In this report, the writer gives a series of these incidents. What he appears to say about this staff is that it doesn't matter very much what the issue is, or who wins, as long as there is a good scrap.

1. What was the trouble here? After meeting twice with the faculty, it seemed to us clearly a problem in morale. Teachers fussed at one another, not because of any real dislike, but through *tedium vitae*, the strain of living in an inert, "do nothing" school.

2. What caused the trouble? The school head was very sick; in fact, he died within two months. The assistant principal was marking time, waiting for the administrative situation to clarify. She was not qualified for the top position; at least, later on it was given to an outsider. Any setup like this will produce one or more leaders who compete for followers in the group.

3. What are the possible solutions? First, the direct "sensible" approach. Get after this lazy crew. Get rid of the impossible ones, shake the charmers out of their charms, set the drones to work. It might be that a new school head, an impatient and forceful one, would do this; we do not know. No consultant would attempt it, for such a course of action is not in his rule book. He can help this staff only if its members accept him, trust him to advise. This suggests, as in a number of past cases, an indirect, group-building approach.

4. Which solution is best? What we tried to find was some

project which would appeal to the group, a job at which the head and faculty would work. By reason of circumstances, this turned out to be the writing of a school handbook, an idea that came from pupils and parents rather than from a staff member. The book was needed as a guide to the school, and its production permitted a broad and somewhat formal division of effort in which all could share.

No doubt all jobs have their frustrations and irritations, perhaps teaching far less than most. A nearly chronic type of teacher protest is against what, in some schools, is called "extra-duty" work.

Extra Dutied to Death!

I admit this title is extreme, that none of us here has died as yet—or come close to it—from overwork, yet these so-called "extra duties" are the bane of our existence. I refer to lunchroom supervision, hall duties, school clubs and activities, playground policing, participation in PTA and community events, drives, campaigns, and so on, ad infinitum, or so it seems.

Six of us teachers at Adamson agreed to keep an exact record of how our work time was spent in two periods of two weeks each, one week in November and the other one in May. When these reports were averaged, it turned out that we were working a 10-hour "school day." This did not include the time spent at home in the evenings in grading tests or preparing lessons. It did include weekend and evening meetings which we were expected to attend. This is, we feel, a lot of work!

The lunchroom duty is, I think, the worst. Each teacher must serve two noon periods per week, and grab a bite of lunch on the run. The room seats about 360 pupils, but on bad days and most days in the winter, as many as 500 children stay for lunch. We must either hurry them in and out or, as we have done, provide for two shifts. In either case, pupil behavior is hard to control. Although there is order in the classroom, there are all sorts of misbehaviors at lunch.

Since I am at it, I shall express two other teacher complaints. While neither is a duty assigned by the principal like those I have just described, her expectation is that we as teachers "make a good showing," i.e., that we comply.

The first is collecting funds from teachers for almost anything that seems to arise—presents for teachers, flowers for the sick, parties for

the safety boys and the duty girls, showers, weddings, Red Cross, community fund, and countless local collections. It is annoying to have a child or teacher coming into your room with a container every time you look up.

The second is community services. I am by nature an extrovert. I like to be with people; but it is quite impossible to meet Mrs. Stein's expectations as to attending meetings, joining civic groups, serving on committees, and getting up programs. I do not resent this as much as some teachers do, yet it is anything but restful.

I dream of a day when there are only five classes to teach. OK, five classes, and a study hall, and a lunchroom period. But that is all!

The above case, in more detail, has proved to be good teacher-training material. It will be found extreme, if a college class decides to make a survey of local schools, though the issue of "extra duty" is difficult to define for study purposes. Often our groups play the roles of the Adamson School faculty. One or more teachers make the case writer's protest, and several take turns in the principal's role. They demonstrate their notions as to how to handle the complaints.

Our best use of the case is to accept it as a problem to be solved. The class is broken into discussion groups, with each one planning a study project. When the total class is reassembled, a spokesman of each group reports. It adds interest to the work if the class will try to fit the ideas and suggestions into a single, integrated study plan.

At Adamson, to complete the case, the head and staff decided to study the work situation. A committee collected data from each teacher on her (or his) extra-duty assignments, contributions of money, and community services. Tables were made, so that averages and ranges could be seen. Not having comparable data (norms) to go by, we could not tell if too much or too little was asked of the staff. It was agreed, however, that where possible, extra work should be reduced, and it should be equalized to an extent among staff members.

Of more significance than these actions was the concept of school organization which emerged from discussions. It was accepted that a teacher's major responsibility was for good teaching, that nothing should be let interfere with that. It was further

agreed that teachers should assist in school management, such as taking turns in lunchroom supervision. Third, teachers owed it to themselves, their school and profession, to take part in community movements and, within their means, to support them. Finally, the study and improvement of school practices was felt to be a staff duty, meaning that some teacher time should be devoted to this function.

It was when staff members tried to be specific, to say how time should be apportioned, that talk swung toward school organization. The school was conceived of, not as place where everyone did everything in equal amounts, but as a unity of unlike parts, a whole in which *task specialization* should be encouraged. If some teacher liked extracurricular activities and did well at them, a heavy share of these duties should fall to her. So with community services, study of school practices, and the like. This assumed the primacy of good teaching, the common aim of all.

Overcrowding of buildings is a serious school problem, one so varied and changeful that no single case can show much. It places strains on school personnel, as some 60 reports indicate. The writer is teaching principal in the Lincoln School.

Overcrowding at Lincoln School

The Lincoln Heights School is a two-story brick building in a suburb of Cleveland. It contains six classrooms, the principal's office, a teachers' room, storeroom, toilets, and a basement furnace room. When school opened this September, the enrollment was 331 pupils, from kindergarten to 6A. In March of the present year, the number had increased to 486. This increase had made it necessary to add three and a half teachers to the staff of six teachers. You will understand what our present situation is if I say simply that the school was built to accommodate not over 250 students. I do not know what to call this except a case of gross public neglect.

First, the mathematics of our setup. Given 486 children and six classrooms, the average would be 81 pupils per room. This is absurd, even if room size permitted, which it does not. The only thing possible has been to make each bit of space do double duty, that is, one shift in the morning and another in the afternoon, with kids packed in at both times. When this proved inadequate, we transformed the store-room (which had been made into a library) into a classroom and put

book shelves up in the two hallways. Next we took the teachers' room, a space 18 feet by 22 feet, and moved in 28 4Bs which, with a teacher but no desk, made it difficult to get around.

At present writing, each teacher tries to cover a full day of school-work in about $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours. For example, in the first grade there are 135 children. One teacher has 48 in the morning and the same number in the afternoon, with a half hour (if she can get it) for lunch. Another teacher has 39 in the afternoon and 43 second graders in the forenoon. To show the kind of trouble we get into, I shall take an incident, one of several so-called hallway cases.

Miss Elling, third grade, teaches her group of 41 pupils in a space on the second floor, next to the stairway. Although all teachers have been requested to ask their pupils not to use the hallway any more than is necessary, children pay little attention to this rule. Last Tuesday Miss Elling was reading a story when a 5A boy came clunking through. She stopped reading until he passed, then continued. Within a minute or two, he came back and she flagged him down. When asked if he had been told to use the backstairs and to walk quietly, he came out with something smart, and when she asked his name and room, he refused to answer. She sent a pupil for me, and I left my class to go after him. On the way to my office, his teacher saw us and claimed that the boy was on an errand for her. She said Miss Elling was always making trouble, that she paid no attention to her. Now both instructors are mad at me, each because I did not blame the other in the case.

One of our three half-time teachers instructs in music and the whole staff is down on her. She encourages pupils to sing their loudest, to "raise the roof," as she puts it. "It is not only the noise," said one teacher. "They sing hillbilly songs which I just can't stand."

In my own case, I am supposed to spend about half time in teaching the 6As but my duties make this impossible. A mother wants a child's schedule changed, or asks that we keep a pupil all day, or wants to talk over a pupil's progress. She may phone or come in, so that I must leave my class. I put my office clerk in charge, which is against the law, but what else can I do? My request for two additional teachers has been approved, but we cannot find any qualified person at the salary we can afford to pay.

The imperative is to show the school board and, through the board, the community, this school's desperate need for space and staff. After planning with the faculty as to how this might be

done, and making several attempts to do it, the present writer informed the board that he would have to ask the state department to check on the school. This has brought some slight relief, in that the board has authorized the addition of three rooms to the building. The obvious need for a new and larger building has not been faced. Enrollment is still increasing, and overcrowding will be about as bad as it has been.

SCHOOL FACULTY MEETINGS

Aside from work conditions and needed salary increases, most cases in this section discuss school faculty meetings. On an average, two out of three reports are critical, though less so than the first example to be cited. An extreme case, if it is known to be extreme, is not a bad teaching device. It helps one to see and to understand, to focus on small things which might otherwise escape attention. The writer of the next report teaches at the Beakney School.

McKitterick's Kindergarten

This is the name that the teachers give to the faculty meetings at the Beakney school. Miss McKitterick, principal, is in her twenty-seventh year of school work, her sixteenth year as head at Beakney. Her ability to lead a faculty, if she ever had it, and that I doubt, has long since gone. She is old and tired and in need of sunshine, a rocking chair, and rest. Miss Lovchuck, her assistant, would do the work if McKit would back her, which she won't. So, here we sit, waiting for orders to come through from the central office downtown.

Get down to cases, you will say, and that is what I shall do. Take a general item or two and then, for detail, the last faculty meeting.

Notice of Meeting. We do not have a regular meeting time but are subject to call, with notice often coming a day or two before. This is irritating to the faculty, for it causes them to replan whatever they were going to do. We stormed about this once upon a time. Old McKit didn't argue with us, just dismissed the meeting and walked out until we could "learn how to behave."

Tardiness, absence. Take my advice and don't be! McKit comes marching in after we have assembled, dragging her pile of papers along. We meet in the school library and she sits at the librarian's desk, front and center. She calls the roll, checking off each name. If

someone is absent, she sends a teacher to look for him, much as she used to scout down her wayward 2A pupils. If it turns out that the individual is really A.W.O.L., she bawls him out in his absence and at the next staff meeting, where he is asked "to explain." If he comes in tardy, the routine is the same. McKit's kindergarten!

Minutes of Last Meeting. No minutes are kept; hence there is no record of business to review. Not bad, really, for there was no business done, nothing that amounted to anything. McKit remembers that this or that was up but did not get settled and, if so, how? Her "memory" would be a study in itself. She seldom forgets, for example, some administrative order from downtown, something we have been asked to do. The Beakney School, she tells us, is the first "to cooperate."

Announcements. These take the greater part of the hour, and almost all are items which could be better communicated by memo or else matters which we already know about.

1. Here is the new curriculum guide." (McKit fumbles among papers, finds it, holds it up.) "Put out by the superintendent's office." (As if any doubt about that.) "Very good, very modern." (McKit took her last work in college in her twenty-first year of teaching, two courses to complete her master's degree.) "Read it," she says.

2. "Superintendent Stroud will issue his annual report the first of next month." (As he has done since the beginning of time.) "Be on the lookout for it." (Why?)

3. "Here are GOOD THINGS I have come across." Shuffles papers, pulling out a piece here and there. "A note from the Retirement Board." A curriculum study at some unheard of school. Etc., etc., cookies from the cooky jar!

4. "Children should put on their coats before leaving the building on a test air-raid alert." "But, Miss McKitterick, won't that take time?" The McKit takes off her glasses, looks at the faculty, asks for comments. First speaker: "I believe it will take time." Second speaker: "In my opinion, it will take *some* time." Third speaker: "I agree." McKit nods as if something had been settled, puts on her specs, and reads the next item.

5. "Smoking in the toilets must be stopped. It is a disgrace to Beakney. Miss Santini"—McKit's patron saint and predecessor—"would not tolerate that. As of tomorrow, hallway and toilet patrols will be doubled."

6. "Room doors must be closed when teachers leave for lunch." This morning, no later than this very morning, McKit "happened" to be in the east wing of the L, and she counted six open doors, six, mind you! Larsen, Belani, Hunter, Riley, Oresschi, Scavaig. You bad boys and girls!

7. "The principal's office must have mid-semester grades by the fifteenth. Will homeroom teachers cooperate?" Yes, if subject teachers will get their grade lists to them early enough. "Will subject teachers do this?" Each is canvassed by name and each says yes. One *no* would have shocked us beyond recovery.

8. "We shall have to do something *soon* about a human relations speaker but there is not time today." (Yes, let it go until the last minute and then in a grand rush, McKit will select the speaker.)

New Business. "Anybody have anything to bring up?" Mrs. Petarchi, librarian, cannot find a book. "Does any teacher have *Picture Tales from France*?" No response. Mr. Wells would like to form a car pool to share rides to and from the school. "Meet with Mr. Wells after dismissal if interested." De Laila, gym teacher, wants to know whether he shall continue to hold the seventh period Thursdays for faculty volley ball. Last Thursday, only three players showed up. No reply to Mr. De L.

A Speech. "And now a very special TREAT." We have with us," says McKit, "Professor Miller, Department of Psychology, State University, who will speak on Juvenile Delinquency. Professor, the time is 4:02 and we try to close at 4:15 promptly. I am afraid you haven't much time." The speaker takes over, tells a story or two, and concludes that delinquents are on the increase. He thinks this is bad and then sits down, amidst loud applause. The time is 4:13!

Adjournment. Meeting dismissed and faculty leave on the run, like a bunch of kids when school is out.

Why does a school staff tolerate meetings of this kind? Does the situation provide security for some persons? How is that? Do other group members, those who wish to do school business, feel that the system is too much for them, that they cannot—dare not—buck it? Over the years what happens to administrative and teacher personalities? To pupils in the school? To the community? To escape the bad taste left by this case, our classes may divide into teams of two and visit school faculty meetings. A class

may start, if it is invited, with a staff meeting in the College of Education. After a school visit, one team member reports on the agenda, the business done, and the other on human behaviors, including feeling tones. Each team turns in a written report, and one or more teams may be asked to brief the class on their experiences. Other students raise questions and feed in observations. The usual conclusions are two. *Faculty meetings are better than the example, yet most of them can be much improved.* How to improve them begins with commonsense rules and goes on to student convictions and preferences.

For the education major in search of a dissertation topic, the case may suggest a lead. Because of factors we cannot explore, school systems tend to pile up the aged in top administrative posts. What is aging? How do the aging experience it, come to feel and know they are growing old? Is aging a kind of rusting out, a wearing down? What happens to muscular coordination? To the digestive system? To the mind? The emotions? Why do some persons stay "young" longer than other persons of the same age? What is the effect of stress on the aged? Of senile psychoses, such as infantilism? The suggestion is for research into gerontology and geriatrics, with application to school personnel.

Although a problem book is problem centered, a phrase we keep repeating, we do not like the type of case just given. Our biases happen to run the other way. To even the picture somewhat, consider another school faculty case.

A Teachers' Assembly Room

When I first came to the Allan Rice High School as a teacher in 1943, the staff numbered 16 instructors, not counting the college students who student-teach in the school. Robert Sears was principal then, as he still is. In the old days, the boiler room was adequate for those of us who wanted to smoke and to yarn when we could catch the time, but those days have gone. Bob Sears does not smoke, or need to gossip, or to relax, yet he understands these weaknesses to which most folks are heir. Incidentally, there never was a better school head. I am an old man, and I have seen my share of them.

One day, about 3 months ago, Bob joined three of us in the boiler room. He came with an idea but we beat him to the punch with an idea of our own. Why not have a teachers' room, smoke room, as-

sembly, whatever it should be called? "Good idea," Bob said. "A splendid idea," and he smacked me on the back. When we went into a war dance, he called us a bunch of Indians. He left with the word that we should "plan it up," that is, talk it over with the staff before the next faculty meeting. When we tell him that things are planned *out* and not *up*, he laughs. His "planning-up" idea is a standing joke among us. What he means is we should figure the idea out, make it practical.

At the meeting, old Bob was pretty wise. He had heard talk, he said, of our need for a teachers' room. He reminisced about the "boiler-room gang," then pointed out the inadequacy of this relic of the past. He spoke about some other schools most of us know, then asked us what we wanted to do. We wanted to go to bat—no question about it—for a proper faculty room. Bob asked where and at what costs, and no one knew. When it was clear that we were killing time, he suggested that a committee be elected to work with him and then report.

Sears, as I have said, is a pusher, and it took us [committee] just a week to shape a report to the faculty. Two rooms were named as possibilities, one large and spacious, the other smaller but adequate. Although the staff wanted the first room, the vote was to request the second on the assumption that chances were better to get it. Next, minimum furnishings were listed, totaling \$1,241.36. It was Bob's notion, and it carried by consent, that we should not ask the board for this amount but solicit it from the Rice PTA. Third, the committee, with Bob as backer-upper and spokesman when necessary, was authorized to carry the faculty request to Superintendent Helser and on, if he wished, to the school board.

Well, that's about the story. We got the super's approval and the board approved as a matter of routine. The PTA kicked in with the money and, well, Open house is set for Friday, 3:30 P.M. Coffee, rolls, and a *smoke*. Come and join us if you've got the time, but no speeches!

We did join the Rice faculty at the open house, in part to find out more about the case. Let us break into a recorded interview with these men.

Reversing the Chain of Command

Q: You say you don't take orders here. I don't get that.

A: No, we don't take orders. We give them. The faculty runs the school on things that count. Faculty and students. [Nods of assent.]

Q: Still I don't catch on. Go on, please.

A: Take the teacher's room. You know about that. How did that idea get started? Ron, here, and I hatched it. We kicked it around until we got talk going in the school.

Q: The case said you took the idea to Mr. Sears.

A: Right. But you think we're crazy? If we'd taken the idea to him at that time, right then, we would have been kicked out. As it was, we took it to him too soon. It was full of bugs.

Q: Too soon? How is that?

A: Well, like I've said. Ron, here, Ron and Stan, they say the idea is good, so we put it up to Bob. He just stands there, dreaming it out. "Good idea," he says. "Splendid." We know what's coming next. "You plan it up." He means we got to figure it, know how things add up. And that is that!

Q: Again I'm lost. What is what?

A: Well, that's the way Sears operates. You have authority to do what you want in this school but it had better be good. Bob holds the bag for all of us. He gets it in the neck if anybody goofs. So, we just damn well don't goof.

This led to a continuing acquaintance with Mr. Sears, to several talks with him. He has what one might call "a green thumb" for school business. He is, he holds, like other school principals, except that he works harder at the job. He seems not to realize the heavy demands his position makes on him, and he handles issues with skill and ease. There is never any hubbub in the school, no undue fear or anxiety. There is confidence that whatever comes up can be managed. Mr. Sears appears to know about everything that is going on and before it ends, his imprint is likely to be on it. He is fond of citing Chester I. Barnard, particularly the latter's concept of administrative "accountability."

MORE PAY FOR TEACHERS

There is no doubt that schoolteachers are becoming more "job conscious" in the sense that labor unionists use the term. This is especially true in big cities, where many teachers are organized. Any case would be long and complex, yet it could only represent a moment in time, a continuing struggle for better work condi-

tions, including higher "take-home" pay. The case to be given is less involved than most, though it is far from simple. It is not meant as an argument, but rather as a way to open several basic issues for discussion.

The writer to be quoted is a teacher, male, age thirty-four. He is married, has two children, is paying for a home, and is dependent on his school salary. Mercer Point is a town of about 17,000 in a Western state. The public school system consists of the high school in which the writer teaches, and six grade schools. There is, as the report will show, a cleavage among the teachers in the high school and between them and the grade school faculties.

The Struggle at Mercer

I teach English. I came to Mercer Point in 1948, with 7 years of teaching experience. Teachers in my field were, as the saying goes, a dime a dozen, or so it seemed to me, and my beginning salary of \$2250 for the 9-month year struck my wife and me as adequate. In 1949, we bought the small home we had been renting and with the exception of one year, we have not missed a payment. That year, 1953, we had a lot of sickness. Doctor bills have run us into a debt from which we have not as yet recovered.

I learned in my first year that the Mercer schools had no uniform salary schedule, no automatic increase with tenure, and no public record of what staff members were paid. One's pay was a matter of individual bargaining. From the grapevine that year and later, I gathered the main facts on salaries.

In general, high school teachers were paid a little more than grade school teachers, with a few exceptions. Men got more than women, and new teachers, with a degree [A.B, B.S, M.A.] were paid more than old teachers, especially the so-called "old maids" in the school system. The football coach was paid \$855 extra for his coaching, and the basketball coach about \$500. Teacher contracts were mailed to individuals about May 1, then signed and returned. There was, as I have said, no automatic increase, but lucky teachers could count on a raise of \$50 to \$125 a year in some years.

I shall skip the years up to the middle of 1954. Although there had been general dissatisfaction with salaries, it seemed to me that now, for the first time, teachers were ready to do something. Acting on this supposition, three or four of us got together and organized a

Teachers Association. We wanted 100 per cent membership, of course, but were able to get less than a fourth of all the high and grade school teachers. A committee was set up to make a thorough study of the salary question, but it did not get very far.

The first thing the committee did was to call on the superintendent. I remember that meeting as if it were yesterday. When Mr. Allison was informed of our organization and its purpose, he remarked that he had been hearing about us. When we asked for access to salary data, he said that he could not grant it, that such action was contrary to board policy. We said this was a bad policy and that if citizens were to be informed, they would surely correct it. He made no comment on this, but wished us well in whatever we decided to do.

There was, to be sure, another way to get at salary figures and that was to ask staff members how much they were paid. When we tried this, not even members of the Teachers Association would cooperate. In desperation, the same three of us who had organized the Association worded a strong resolution to the board, in which current policy was condemned. We asked the board to publish the facts or else to give us access to them, and we said that substantial salary raises were long overdue. We cited pay increases in two comparable school systems.

When this resolution came up for adoption at an Association meeting, there was strong opposition to it. We argued for at least 3 hours, and lots of things were said. I got mad finally and said that I would resign unless the Association took a firm stand. When the resolution was voted down, I resigned, and the man who led the opposition was elected president.

A month later, the Association called a meeting on the salary question.

Since the meeting was public, I attended. I was surprised to find Superintendent Allison there, and more surprised when Annunci, the president, said that the head of the schools had been made an honorary member of the Association.

First of all, Annunci asked Mr. Allison if he had any remarks. Allison was surprised at being called on and said he had nothing to say. The chairman then said to the Association: "Some of you have pestered me to call this meeting on salaries. Now what have you got to say?" Someone cited some figures on the rising cost of living and concluded that we should ask for a cost-of-living increase. This idea was kicked around for a while, most speakers favoring it. Presently, a resolution began to take shape, a request for an across-the-board

increase of \$250. The proposal contained the phrase "if possible." I could not help pointing out how ridiculous this was, and it was stricken out.

Superintendent Allison had been asked no question and had made no comments. Before a vote was taken, his opinion was sought. "The board meets tomorrow afternoon at 4:30, and I will be glad to present whatever motion you pass." He spoke matter-of-factly, like ordering next winter's coal supply, and without standing up, so that some teachers missed what he had said. I myself was impressed, and asked him how he felt about the \$250 cost-of-living increase. Again, without making a speech, he said the board would not do it. He said they would go along with a \$100 increase, maybe \$150, but no more. The motion was put and it carried but (barely) for the \$250 figure. The superintendent was asked to present it to the board, which he said he would be glad to do, and he asked that a committee be appointed to attend the meeting and to speak for the request.

That May we got a \$100 increase, which leads me to the main part of my report. This fall, some of us have set about organizing a teachers' union, affiliated with the AFL. We have won over important persons in the Teachers Association, in fact taken a full third of their membership. We have worked hard in all the grade schools, though without much success, for these teachers are afraid to take a forthright stand. We are strong enough, however, and determined enough, to have the big wheels here in town, the money men, and I hope the school board, a good bit worried.

While we have been getting started, the Association bunch has been active. We hear that they have been given access to salary figures, the courtesy (or legal right) denied to us earlier. So far as the teachers' union is concerned, we will do more than find out what the system's pay rates are. We will show also how the Mercer Point schools are financed, the full intake of tax funds, fees, so forth, and the way in which the budget is spent. Armed with these facts, we shall appeal to the public. What will happen after that, we shall have to see.

This is a highly controversial case. We have cautioned from time to time as to the strains real problems put on students, the need for self-restraint and for respecting an opposing view even when disagreeing with it.

What is the central issue in the Mercer Point report? To some students, it will be the salary question, for they agree that teacher

pay rates are too low.¹ To others, it will be the ethics of the situation, the right of (and need for) teachers to organize and to affiliate with a national labor union. Some will agree to the first of these ideas, the need to organize, but hold that teaching is a profession, that it should not link itself to industrial workers. This view is often countered by the assertion that there is no other plausible alternative, no way to improve pay rates and job conditions.

In discussion of the case, it is well to recall that collective bargaining in industrial relations is national policy, that it has been written into law.² As of the present date, employers must recognize certified union agents. They must, and so must labor, bargain in a wage or other dispute, but neither side is compelled by law to reach an agreement. When agreement is reached, it is put into writing and becomes the basis for new negotiations at the expiration of a contract. If no agreement is reached, labor has the right to strike. This right is often denied by state statute to all public school personnel as public employees.

The human relations in the case are of interest. There is, first, the effects of a so-called radical group in stimulating conservatives, prodding them into action. Second, the function of conflict is to bring issues into the open, thus subject them to the play of public opinion and perhaps hasten their resolution.³ At Mercer, this has led the school board to take a deeper interest in teacher salaries and to search harder for ways of improving pay rates. Third, one notes the tendency of human relations to tighten as events move toward a climax, a so-called "spiraling effect." This suggests, finally, the role of the mediator or negotiator, a person in close contact with both (or all) sides and trusted by them. Though little is said about Mr. Allison, the superintendent, he may be well fitted for this role.

¹ An excellent, compact reading, one undergoing wide public discussion, is the Ruml and Tickton study of salaries, see *Teaching Salaries Then and Now*, The Fund for the Advancement of Education, New York, 1955.

² A good reading is C. W. Randle, *Collective Bargaining: Principles and Practices*, Houghton Mifflin, 1951.

³ Conflict at Mercer Point is incipient, rather than overt and organized. For cases of institutionalized conflict and more or less standard procedures for resolving it, see Edward Peters, *Strategy and Tactics in Labor Negotiations*, Nation Foremen's Institute, New London, Conn., 1955.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. If it is feasible to do so, attend a school or college faculty meeting as an individual, as a committee, or as a whole class. Organize a panel discussion on what was seen and heard and what can be inferred.

2. Have you ever known a school principal like Mr. Sears? Prepare a paper to hand in on the principals and superintendents with whom you have become acquainted as a student and/or a teacher.

3. If time permits, invite to class one or more board of education members to tell about their work. Direct your questions to their concept of duty, why they are in board work, and how such critical issues as those in the Mercer Point case might be settled for the good of all.

4. Are you informed about the AFT? Read, and write a paper on, *Organizing the Teaching Profession*, a volume by AFT's Commission on Educational Reconstruction (Free Press, 1955).

5. Has it been decided how to review Part Two? Student teams could be organized, with each team taking one of the BVKSJ elements and rescanning the chapters.

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3. "Ethical Standards and Professional Conduct," *The Annals*, American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, January, 1955, p. 297.
4. *Guidance in the Curriculum*, 1955 Yearbook of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, National Education Association, Washington, 1955.
5. Moehlman, Arthur: *School Administration*, Houghton Mifflin, 1951.
6. Peters, Edward: *Strategy and Tactics in Labor Negotiations*, National Foreman's Institute, New London, Conn., 1955.
7. Remmlein, Madaline K.: *School Law*, McGraw-Hill, 1955.
8. *Staff Relations in School Administration*, 33rd Yearbook of the American Association of School Administrators, National Education Association, Washington, 1955.
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PART THREE

The Teacher-leader Role

CHAPTER 13

Teaching as Group Management

The findings of research become the substance on which the professions are nourished.

—LLOYD E. BLAUCH

It was the theory in earlier chapters of this book that the way to learn problem solving is to try to solve problems—that is, to face school cases as situations to be studied and resolved. In Part Three let us withdraw as far as practical from details in order to take a broader, deeper look. The focus will be on the teacher-leader role, a term used—as it has been in the book as a whole—to include school administrators and other professional personnel. The aim will be to build the kind of abstract understanding which bears upon the improvement of the leader role in school-community work in human relations.

The present chapter is concerned with the teacher-leader as a group manager, especially as manager of talk. The word “management” is used with some reluctance. “Guidance of people in groups”¹ is a softer concept, one less likely to suggest the manipulation of individuals. But the role under study at the moment, that of conducting a good classroom (guiding, inspiring, directing, controlling, and assessing) is not really covered by the nicer phrase. It will foster straight thinking to use *management*, defining it as the art of helping people change their behavior in self-determined directions.

¹ See Margaret E. Bennett, *Guidance in Groups*, McGraw-Hill, 1955.

DYNAMICS OF PROBLEM SOLVING

The kind of research in which one can find a rationale for group process teaching in both school and community is the study of small problem-solving groups. Although no one inquiry is conclusive, the work of Robert Bales is very suggestive. In the sample to follow, students should read with care. They should note the experimental setup, the classification of acts, the oscillation of group process, the emergence of two kinds of leaders, and the significance of consensus.²

A Study of Group Problem-solving Talk

I first began to develop a systematic procedure for analysis of social interaction when I became interested in trying to account for the success of Alcoholics Anonymous. Although I attended meetings and talked with members, I did not feel free to ask all the questions I wished. Consequently I fell back on observation and began to develop crude methods for recording who did what, who spoke to whom, and how. Eventually this quiet occupation began to appear sinister and the effort was abandoned.

By this time my fascination with the process of *social interaction* had developed to the point of no return. I decided that I must pursue my studies in the more favorable conditions of a laboratory.

A number of laboratories for the study of social interaction within small groups have been started in the last 10 years—in hospitals, clinics, special research centers, and military installations. The studies and experiments I shall describe were conducted in one of the earliest of these laboratories, established in 1947 at Harvard University.

The laboratory consists of a large well-lighted room for the group under study and an adjoining room for observers, who listen and watch from behind windows with one-way vision. The subjects are told at the beginning that the room has been constructed for the special purpose of studying group discussion, that a complete sound recording will be made, and that there are observers behind the one-way screens. The purpose of the separation is not to deceive the subjects but to minimize interaction between them and the observing team.

² Adapted from Robert F. Bales, "How People Interact in Conferences," *Scientific American*, 1955, 192: 31-35. Used by permission of the publishers of *Scientific American*.

After much research we developed a *standardized task* from which significant generalizations could be drawn. A group of persons (ranging from two to seven in number) is asked to discuss a complex human relations problem of the sort faced by an administrator. Each member of the group first reads a five-page presentation of facts about the case, but each is left uncertain as to whether he has been given exactly the same range of facts as the others in the group. The members are not introduced to one another or coached in any way; they

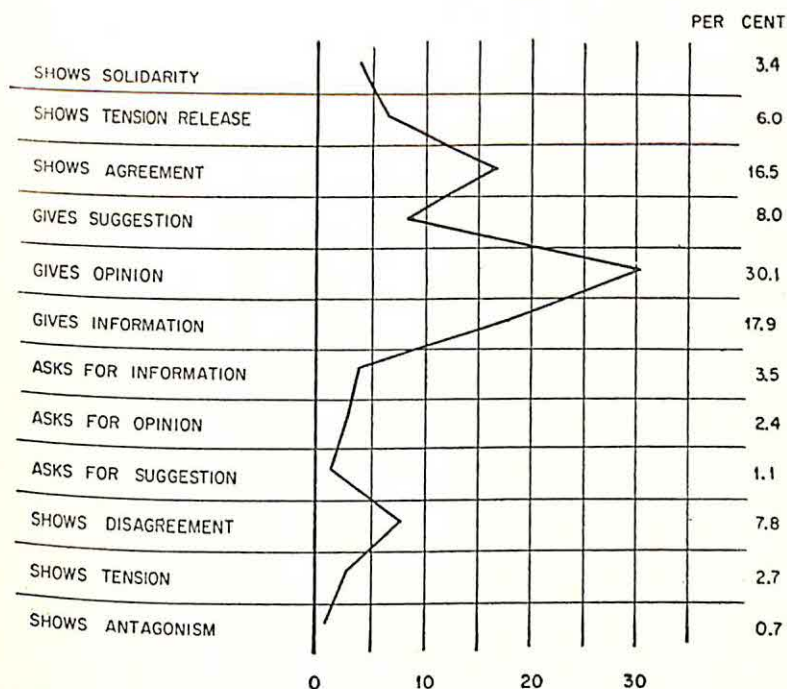


FIGURE 5. Individual behaviors in 96 sessions of small, problem-solving groups. (From Robert F. Bales, "How People Interact in Conferences," *Scientific American*, 1955, 192:33. Used by permission of the publishers of *Scientific American*.)

must develop their own organization and procedure. They are to consider the facts and report to an administrator, as if they were on his staff, their joint conclusions concerning the problem and what should be done about it. They are allowed 40 minutes for the discussion. The group is observed for four such sessions.

On the other side of the one-way screen the observers systematically record every step of the interaction, not omitting such items as nods and frowns. Each observer has a small machine with a moving paper tape on which he writes in code a description of every act—an *act* being defined as a single statement, question, or gesture. Acts or-

dinarily occur at the rate of 15 or 20 a minute. The recorded data on each act include identification of the person speaking and the one spoken to, and classification of the act according to predetermined categories, as seen in Figure 5.

The twelve categories in Figure 5 are divided into groups of three. The first three are positive reactions, and the last three are negative reactions. The second three are attempts at problem solving, and the remaining three are questions, that is, requests for help.

On the average, about 56 per cent of group talk falls into the category of problem-solving efforts, namely, gives suggestion, gives opinion, and gives information. The remaining remarks are distributed, the largest numbers being under agreement and disagreement. Put in another way, the problem-solving process appears to be two-sided, with non-problem-solving reactions serving as a "feedback" on the acceptability of problem-solving attempts. An example is as follows:

Member A: I wonder if we have the same facts about the problem? [Asks for opinion.] Perhaps we should take some time to find out. [Gives suggestion.]

Member B: Yes. [Agrees.] We may be able to fill in some gaps in our information. [Gives opinion.] Let's go around the table and each tell what the report said in his case. [Gives suggestion.]

The example suggests that a speaker's first remark is likely to be a non-problem-solving reaction. The probability is very high that, if he continues to talk, his second act will be a problem-solving attempt.

If a typical group session is divided into thirds, the rates of interaction will be found to vary. This is seen in Figure 6. Rates for giving opinion tend to peak in the middle third of a meeting. Giving information declines from the first third to the last third. Positive reactions rise sharply in the final period, as do negative reactions, with the first outnumbering the second about two to one. Suggestions start very low and show a rising trend.

In the rates cited, the critical point is *the point of decision*. Once a decision is made, negative reactions decline and positive reactions increase. Joking and laughing, indicating tension release, become more frequent. With the work under control for the time being, the interaction process tends to restabilize the emotional states of group members and to affect social relations.

It is apparent that by no means all the elements in the group problem-solving process are logical or intellectual. Some elements involve perception, memory, association, and perhaps inductive insight. Other

elements are linked with the human relations in the group, the emotional and social adjustment and readjustment of group members.

There is much evidence that the process of interaction, like other processes involving "feedback," tends to fall into *oscillation* as it "hunts" for a hypothetical steady state. Over a short time span, the

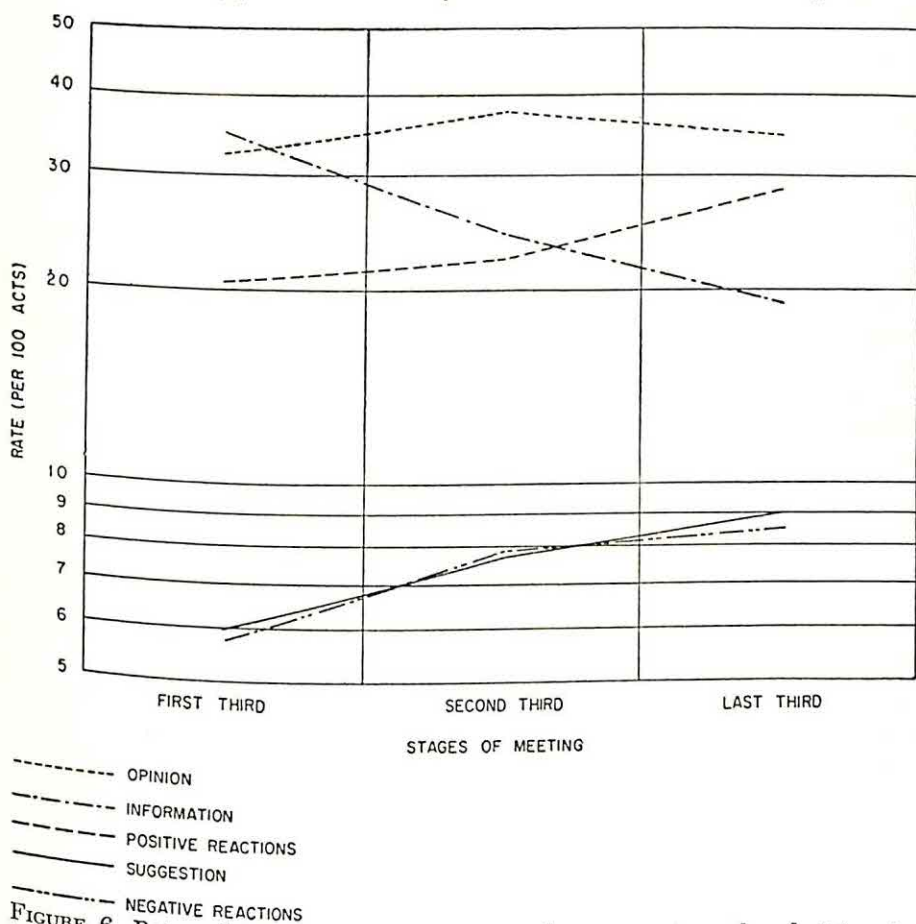


FIGURE 6. Rates of interaction. As group members move toward a decision, information giving decreases while suggestions, as well as positive and negative reactions, increase. (From Robert F. Bales, "How People Interact in Conferences," *Scientific American*, 1955, 192:35. Used by permission of the publishers of *Scientific American*.)

process tends to alternate, in every few acts, between the problem-solving attempts of one person and the social-emotional reactions of some other person. Although oscillation is rapid at this time period, it is not rapid enough to keep all the elements in the process in balance. There is a drift toward inequality of participation and, in time, this has cumulative effects on the social relations of group members

The group member who gets his speech in first begins to build a reputation. His success at this leads him to do more of the same, with the results that discussants tend to assume rank order *by task ability*. In some problem-solving groups, members reach a high degree of consensus on ranking the person "who had the best ideas." (Members fill in a questionnaire after each meeting.) Usually the person so ranked did the most talking and had higher than average rates of giving suggestions and advancing opinions.

While one person is becoming a specialist in advancing ideas, another is likely to develop a specialization on the *reactive side*. The group member most commonly rated as "best liked" has higher than average rates of showing tension release, for example, smiling and laughing, and for showing agreement. It is not impossible for the member ranked top in giving ideas also to be best liked, but apparently this double role is hard to play. In one set of group sessions, the top idea man had about an even chance of being best liked at the end of the first meeting. At the end of the fourth meeting, his chances were about one in ten. In general, the best-liked group member is second or third in the participation hierarchy.

Giving suggestions, as essential to the accomplishment of a work task as this may be, is more likely to arouse negative reactions than is the giving of information or opinions. This situation tends to put the *task specialist*, the idea man, in a very vulnerable position. The group commonly develops a negative feeling toward him, so much so that he may readily lose his position as "task leader" unless he is sensitive to the problem and is well supported by other group members.

Whether or not group members will agree on who has the best ideas appears to depend to a measure on how well they agree on basic premises or norms, or on what can be called "common culture." If this culture, or *consensus*, is not present at the start of group discussion, at least implicitly, it may take a long time to build up. Although consensus does not solve all the problems of stable group organization, it is unlikely that stability can exist without it. Where stability is lacking, the interaction process becomes primarily a means for the expression of individual emotional states.

When students are led to examine this research, idea by idea, their common reaction—if they are teachers—is: "Why, I've seen what the experimenter is discussing. Much the same things have happened in my classes."

The focus of the Bales study is on interaction, "who did what, who spoke to whom, and how." Twelve categories are given for the analysis of interaction (Figure 5), concepts a teacher might use in the study of a school group. Bales distinguishes two primary kinds of behaviors, problem solving and non-problem-solving. The first tends to predominate as the group moves toward "the point of decision," and the second tends to predominate after the problem has been solved. In the first of these stages, member behaviors tend to oscillate, then to settle on a way of handling the issue to be resolved. However this may turn out, two kinds of leaders tend to emerge. One is the "task leader," who advances ideas, who pushes to get the job done. The other is the "social-emotional leader," the person whose prime concern is member feelings and morale. The task leader is not as a rule the "best liked" person in the group. Resistances to him are likely to develop, a fact teachers understand very well, for in their classrooms, they are often in this leader role.

GROUP-LEADER ROLES

It is profitable to think further about task leaders and social leaders, and thus to relate the foregoing research to other studies in the group dynamics field.

It is commonly held that the survival of any group, large or small, depends upon the group's ability to solve two problems. One is the achievement of the goals of the organization; the other is to provide satisfactions for individual members, i.e., to meet emotional needs. It is the first of these processes, that of goal striving, which produces the task leader. The second, the need to keep harmony in the group, creates the social leader. His function is to ensure internal integration, whereas the task leader must adjust the group to external, technical demands.³

Education majors, with an eye on the school job, suggest that the ideal group leader should combine these two roles. Although this would seem to be done in life situations to a degree, the trend of research is to show that this double role is hard to

³ See Chester I. Barnard, *The Functions of the Executive*, Harvard University Press, 1938, pp. 55ff.

achieve. One main reason is that the roles are incompatible in terms of the dynamics of problem-solving groups. To quote Slater on this:⁴

Adaptational pressures from outside the group, such as are created by a task which must be performed, involve, by definition, change. The individual who presses toward the solution of a task inadvertently forces those who are around him to make continual minor adjustments in their behavior, and to reexamine continually their ideas and values in the light of external demands.

The individual who concerns himself with internal social-emotional problems, on the other hand, is supportive in his responses to the ideas and behavior of those around him and continually reaffirms their dominant values. The orientation of the task specialist is thus more technological, that of the social-emotional specialist more traditionalistic The latter type of behavior seems more appealing to members when they are called upon to indicate whom they personally like best.

Slater warns, from his research, that task leaders may not actually be disliked, but rather that their press to get the work done will tend to arouse some negative feelings. These feelings, latent or manifest, may outweigh the leader's value to the group in the minds of members. They may neutralize the strong, positive feelings which other group members have toward him.

Another main reason why the dual role of task and social leader is hard to achieve is that individuals tend to cast themselves in one part or the other. Persons who are good as task leaders, those who have won eminence, develop further the skills, ideas, and habits by which they have succeeded. Success breeds further success, as it were. So with individuals who feel strongly the need to be "best liked" in the group. They will avoid actions which might make them disliked; they will reflect group feelings, express safe views. Unlike the task leader whose aggression may be channeled into a new—or more vigorous—attack on a problem, the social leader may allay his anxieties by submerging his personality in the group. Under definable conditions, he may become what students call the "average Joe," a nonleader.

⁴ Philip E. Slater, "Role Differentiation in Small Groups," *American Sociological Review*, 1955, 20: 308-309.

MANAGING GROUP TALK

It is time now to translate the preceding theory into practical terms, to relate it to the classroom teaching process. Much of teaching is, from a group dynamics standpoint, the *management of talk*. First, how are prospective teachers, the ones in training, taught? What kinds of talk go on in college classrooms, what forms does it take? It is not easy to classify instructional methods, chiefly because of their tendency to merge. Table 5 is, therefore, more suggestive than definitive, thus of limited worth.

Table 5. Estimated Time Spent "This Semester" by Teachers and Students in Various Kinds of College Classroom Situations

Classroom situation	573 Teachers	414 Students
	Per cent reporting	Per cent reporting
Lecture system, some questions and answers.....	62	77
All-group discussion, occasional lecture.....	21	10
Group teams, panels, sociodramas, committees.....	9	7
All other, excluding laboratory work.....	8	6

Table 5 is made from self-report data. Respondents were experienced teachers (graduate students) and undergraduate students (juniors, seniors) who were majoring in education. They were asked to count the total time in all their classes "this semester" as 100 per cent, then to keep an exact record for two different 2-week periods as to how class time was spent. One period was near the beginning of the semester, the other toward its close. They were instructed to apportion time in terms of specific activities such as lectures, field trips, group discussion, use of movies, sociodrama, committee work, and similar pursuits.

The table shows the dominance of the lecture method in college teaching, a fact well known. It shows that pre- and inservice teachers do not normally get much experience in small group work, including give-and-take discussion. Since this sample was drawn from one university, namely, Wayne State University, the study would need wide replication before its findings could be taken as typical.

Let us continue thought on one item of central importance, the management of talk in what has been called "all-group discussion." What is good discussion? How is it led? Our students appear to learn more, to infer more, from a concrete example than from abstract comments. Hunter, whose writing will be used, taught for a year in a city school like the one he describes. His account is fictional.

To set the scene, Rick, a young English teacher, falls heir to some very tough adolescents, anti-teacher, anti-school. He has just read them the allegory by Heywood Broun on Gawaine and the dragons. Gawaine has made a record in killing dragons because of the magic word "Rumplesnitz" given him by the school's headmaster. On meeting the fiftieth dragon, Gawaine forgets the word. He remembers it but not in time, yet he kills the beast. Now confused, the boy goes to his mentor, who tells him the truth. The word is not magic; it merely gave him self-confidence. Isn't he glad to know that, to depend upon himself? No, Gawaine is not glad, for in his very next battle his courage fails and he is eaten up!

It is this tale, the moral of the tale, that Rick is trying to get the boys to understand, to apply to their own lives. Here is what took place as the teacher sought to involve the group, to guide their mental processes.

The Break Through⁵

The class was silent, waiting for the teacher's move. "That was a pretty good story, wasn't it?" said Rick. "Yeah," a boy replied, a promising response, thought Rick, in view of past experiences with the group. "All about a knight who kills dragons, right?" "Sure," the same boy said. Nothing more, nothing happened. Was this going to be another empty meeting, Rick asked himself. No way to begin talk, to get talk going.

"He didn't kill the dragons," someone said. When Rick asked what the speaker meant, the boy remarked that Gawaine had "cheated," that he had a magic word "Rumplesnitz." Bello shouted that that was no magic word. Asked to explain, he replied, "That's how come he could kill a dragon without saying it. You remember that?" The

⁵Adapted from Evan Hunter, *The Blackboard Jungle*, Simon and Schuster, 1955, pp. 269-278. Quotations are used by permission of the publishers.

teacher remembered. "So," Bello concluded, "it ain't no magic word." This view was taken by other boys. They agreed that Gawaine was "just killin' dragons his ownself." Rick pondered this spate of talk, as pleased as punch, yet he did not think for a minute that there would be a break through.

"Now, I do not understand that," Rick said. "If the word wasn't magic, why was it given to Gawaine?" The class was silent. "Cause that boy Gawaine was scared," said Shocken. "He was a coward." Rick saw the contradiction and laid hold of it. If the word wasn't magic and yet the knight had killed fifty dragons, could he be called a coward? Another silence in the class. The thing was really getting complicated.

"Sure, he killed them," Finley said. "But he was cheating." The class had returned to its starting point, round and round in a circle. Gawaine was not a coward; he was a cheater. Both were potent words to these boys, with deep undercurrents of meaning. "Think," Rick said. "Was Gawaine cheating? Remember, there was no magic word." "So what?" Finley sneered. "He thought there was a magic word." Rick agreed. He was excited now, surprised that the boys had got so much of the story. Still, the discussion was not moving on. It would start, and stop, and get lost. How could the boys be made to see the point?

Rick repeated Finley's comment, then asked if Gawaine's thinking the word was magic had helped him kill the dragons. "Sure," White said. Rick asked how that was, how it had worked. White went on. "He figured I go out there, ain't nothin' gonna happen to me. That's how come he kill dragons." The teacher, now fully excited, asked if Gawaine needed the magic word. "Sure," several boys replied. When Rick asked why, there was no answer, no comprehension of the allegory, the lesson in self-confidence.

"He needed it, all right," Speranza said. Again Rick asked why. "He scared. If he don't have magic, he run away. He think it magic so he feel strong. That's why he need it. Other way, he coward." The class nodded agreement and Rick asked how they knew that. Daley said that Gawaine got "et up" when he found he had no magic. The boys were like a stuck needle on a phonograph, whirling around in the same groove. They were locked within their set ideas . . . There would be no break through. Another empty hour, another failure to teach.

Remembering Daley's comment, Rick asked if that was why Gawaine was given the magic word. "Sure," Davidson said. "That principal, he a smart cat. He know Gawaine need somethin'." Rick framed

the next question in his mind, sensing its importance. "What did the knight need?" He prayed someone would get the point, speak it. The boys were alive now, reacting

Rick waited. Never before had the class come along like this. Why, maybe he could teach. He was teaching!

"What did the knight need? What's the word?" "Con—," Daley began but could not go on. "Confi—." "Yes," said Rick, and held his breath. "Confidence," the boy had got it out. Rick felt his own tension, and that of the group, relax. "Ah-ha," he said, "that's it." Gawaine needed confidence. He needed to trust in himself, rather than in some superstition.

One must have to sweat out a session of this kind, perhaps many sessions, before a true feel of the situation can be arrived at. What is good discussion? Is this discussion good? Of what does the leader's art consist? Let us post this latter question for students to answer and consider for a moment different kinds of discussion.

1. The example given is *guided discussion*, or development discussion, whichever term is preferred. Talk is steered along problem-solving lines and geared to the pace of the group. It is moved ahead by questions yet never beyond the point of group acceptance; hence resistances are kept at a low level. Typical questions are: Why do you believe that? Tell more about that? What have your experiences been? How does this relate to that? Can you give an example? A teacher-leader charts the path of talk by reviewing what has been said and by insightful comments. This is, we believe, what Thelen means by his principle of "steering by consequences."⁶ It is, in other words, the "feedback" system as the term is used in group dynamics, and especially in industrial relations.

2. Another type of discussion is *unstructured talk*, talk that is free except that discussants are kept talking. The teacher-leader role is nondirective or supportive, as in the Rogers kind of "client-centered" therapy.⁷ Often the aim is to get at repressions, to evoke half-remembered happenings, to uncover fantasies and

⁶ Herbert Thelen, *Dynamics of Groups at Work*, University of Chicago Press, 1954, p. 189. Best general reading on various kinds of discussion in human relations work is probably N. R. Maier, *Principles of Human Relations*, Wiley, 1952.

⁷ For example, Carl Rogers, *Client-centered Therapy*, Houghton Mifflin, 1951.

other data of the subconscious. If this talk is group centered, as in school and college classrooms, a critical teacher function is to fend off social pressures on responding individuals. Needless to add, there is very little discussion of this sort in the mass training of school teachers.

3. Discussion may be *action-oriented*. Its aim is to reason through an issue, to make a plan of attack, and to secure commitment to the work task. An effective technique is that of group decision, a public affirmation on the part of participants. The underlying idea would seem to be that a commitment, which is arrived at after full discussion, is more acceptable to persons and thus more binding on them, more determinative of their future actions. There is a significant issue here, the question of majority rule versus group consensus, and we shall return to this in concluding the chapter.

4. Most classroom discussion can be called, simply, *authoritarian*. The teacher knows the answer, and learners recite it or guess it out. Although this kind of instruction characterizes all technical fields of knowledge, it has lesser usefulness in human relations work, where the aim often is to influence perceptions, to change attitudes and conduct.

The weakness of much observed discussion is that participants react to ideas without understanding them. They may react without even hearing what has been said. An effective control is to stop group talk for a moment, then to suggest that a member can speak for himself only after he has stated the previous speaker's view. "Finley," Rick might have said, "I'd like you to tell what Speranza said. Just what he said." At times discussants do not, cannot, listen. For one reason or another, each is filled with anxieties. Each must, for example, assert his own importance, make his own case clear. Some feel that they are not believed, or are under attack; hence their tendency is to fight back.

THE GROUP AS CHANGE AGENT

Teachers use themselves as direct agents of change, as did Rick. This is good teaching, as illustrated in many Part Two cases. Cases also show a different procedure, that of using the

group to influence its members. This one fact, that of using groups as agents of change rather than as targets of change, is perhaps the greatest single contribution of group dynamics to the professional educator up to the present date.

If one wishes to use groups as agents of change, what principles are there to guide him? Among several lists, our students like best the points made by Cartwright.⁸ These proposals are drawn from research in industry, the armed forces, community action, social work, and education, studies much too long and involved to cite.

Using the Group as a Medium of Change

1. If the group is to be used effectively as a medium of change, those persons who are to be changed, and those who are to exert influence for change, must have a strong sense of belonging to the same group.

2. The more attractive a group is to its members, the greater is the influence the group can exert over its members.

3. In attempts to change attitudes, values, or behaviors, the more relevant these elements are to the basis of attraction in the group, the greater will be the influences the group can exert on them.

4. The greater the prestige of a group member in the eyes of other group members, the greater the influence he can exert.

5. Efforts to change individuals in a group, or subparts of a group, which, if successful, would result in making them deviate from the norms of the group, will encounter strong resistance.

6. Strong pressure for changes in a group can be established by creating a shared perception by members of the need for change, thus making the source of pressure for change within the group.

7. Information relating to the need for change, plans for change, and consequences of change, must be shared by all relevant persons in the group.

8. Changes in one part of the group produce strains in other related parts which can be reduced by eliminating the changes or by bringing about readjustments in the related parts.

These are, we think, good rules. They are not, withal, impressive in the abstract, not as they are in concrete application. To

⁸ Dorwin Cartwright, in Cook (ed.), *Toward Better Human Relations*, Wayne State University Press, 1952, pp. 84-90. Used by permission of the publisher.

understand them, students might use them in the solution of selected Part Two cases. A better procedure is to keep the list in mind, at least to have it handy, and then apply it to events as they happen on the campus or in school-community work.

TEACHER ROLE CONFLICT

In concluding the chapter, attention will be called to two issues on which serious thinking should be done. The first, that of role conflict, grows out of the research previously cited.

After noting the emergence of task and social leaders, Bales remarks that it is difficult to combine these two roles. Continuing, he finds that the task-centered leader, the idea man, had about an even chance of being "best liked" in the group at the end of the first meeting. By the fourth meeting, his chances were about one in ten. This situation was explained by Slater as due in part to (1) role incompatibility and (2) individual preference for one or the other roles. This sets a problem for classroom teachers since, normally, they elect to merge these two roles, to shift from one to the other as the situation demands.

When our students are queried on this dilemma, they have different ideas as to how the conflict is to be resolved. Some swing far toward one side or the other, and others seek a middle road. Cantor's ideas appeal to a majority, whereas a minority rejects them in part or as a whole.

In his first book, Cantor^o holds that the principles of teaching are the principles of mental hygiene. He adds, however, that the teacher is not a therapist, not responsible for the "whole person." His function is to develop the meaning of a course of study, a particular field. He can offer students one kind of assistance in their own self-development, that which a sensitive, informed instructor is qualified to give. In Cantor's second book, the teacher is viewed as an "outsider," a consultant to a learning group. At meetings, he determines the main issues for study and keeps talk on the track. He reflects at times member feelings, as a social leader would. Mainly, he is a task leader, seeking to get learners to accept responsibility for their mental and emotional growth.

^o N. Cantor, *The Dynamics of Learning*, Foster and Stewart, 1946; and *Learning through Discussion*, Human Relations for Industry, New York, 1951.

He would not share the basic policy decisions with students because he feels that they are immature.

All in all, the views of Dollard and Miller are acceptable to almost all our students, particularly to experienced teachers and school heads. Some of the main points are as follows:

*What a Teacher Should Know and Do*¹⁰

1. Freedom of speech has a purpose, that of protecting students in their search for right and truth.

2. Announcing answers where no questions exist in learners is seldom educational. A learner must want to know.

3. Feelings are basic facts in all learning situations. Change the way people feel, and changes will tend to occur in their ideas and actions.

4. Reward students for free and frank talk by being a good listener to what they say. *Empathy*, not sympathy, is the preferred way to react.

5. Be calm in discussing emotional issues. Give the impression that situations are not novel, that other persons have experienced them, that they can be talked over and, as a rule, resolved.

6. Learn to "dose" student anxieties—that is, to judge the kind and degree of reality thinking that learners are able to do. Increase dosage as that can be done, i.e., as the student matures.

7. Teach learners to face their risks, fears, etc., as problems to be solved. At the start of an action project, gather from the group their doubts, uncertainties, and insecurities. Have the group reexamine these from time to time, and cross off the ones which the group agrees are no longer real.

CONSENSUS VERSUS MAJORITY RULE

One problem remains, an issue posted some pages back. Let us begin with a not-unfamiliar incident in school affairs.

*On Being Democratic*¹¹

I remember one day, when I was superintendent of schools, a delegation of boys stormed into my office. They had bypassed the principal and come direct to headquarters.

¹⁰ J. Dollard and N. Miller, *Personality and Psychotherapy*, McGraw-Hill, 1950.

¹¹ Carleton Washburne, *What Is Progressive Education?*, John Day, 1952, pp. 53-54. Used by permission of the publisher.

"Mr. Berglund isn't democratic!" they burst out. "What's the matter, what happened?" I asked. "Our group voted that we should have a holiday tomorrow, and he says we can't."

"How did Mr. Berglund come to be your teacher?" I inquired. "You appointed him." "And how did I get to be superintendent?" One boy knew. "The school board appointed you." "And how was the school board chosen?" "I guess they were elected," came the reply. "Was that democratic?" "Yes, I suppose so," a boy said.

"Now, we have laws in this state. One of them says that all children must go to school every day until they are sixteen. Who made those laws?" A boy replied, "The legislature." "And how was the legislature chosen?" The answer was, "It's elected." "Right, and isn't that democratic? When the people choose a legislature to make laws, and chose a school board to appoint teachers to carry out some of the laws, is the teacher undemocratic if he tells you that you must obey the law?"

"N-no, I guess not," was the reply.

I turned to another point. "How old are you boys?" They were fourteen, fifteen, and fifteen. "Can any of you drive a car?" One could. "All right. Suppose you and four other boys were driving down Elm Street, and the traffic officer at Linden raised his hand and told you to stop. Then suppose you took a vote and decided that you should go ahead. Could you do that?"

At this the boys laughed. They saw the point and returned to class.

This is a convincing bit of logic, one that analyzes well. But, with all respect to this eminent educator, what was the point? What did he seek to teach? Was it that free men are unfree, that freedom exists within limits? Was it that, in a democracy, the people rule, the people and their agents, such as schoolteachers? Was it that democracy is hard to learn and hard to teach because its stop signs seem to point only at the other fellow? What Mr. Washburne did not teach, and we judge was not trying to teach, is the duty of every person to protest a decision he regards as unjust and to try by lawful means to get that decision changed.

It is at this point, democracy as change action rather than as conformity, that educators meet their most difficult problem in group process education. The critical issue involves the uses—and the limits—of individual dissent and minority action.

Group dynamicists incline toward the view that decision making by group consensus is preferred to majority vote under par-

liamentary rule. It has been stated in print—and implied with some frequency—that the first is more democratic, that it is therefore more in keeping with the American traditions of freedom. Kerlinger cites this view in order to criticize it.¹²

The tendency seems to be to emphasize the desirability of “consensus” in the decision-making process. Little or nothing is said about majority rule . . . but the implication behind the consensus type of thinking is that majority rule is somehow or other not in keeping with the democratic scene. Decisions which are reached by consensus, it is assumed, are the “right” kind of decisions, those particularly suited to American democracy.

The point at issue can be quickly grasped if it is agreed that consensus, in group process teaching, means unanimity or near unanimity. Kerlinger argues that this is really authoritarian or, more exactly, it is “less democratic” than is parliamentary majority rule.¹³

In practice, it [consensus] leads to a subtle yet definite squelching of the opinions and wishes of many members of the group. The weight of group pressure is so brought to bear, consciously or unconsciously, on group members that they all feel they should agree in ultimate decisions. Comments, suggestions, and opinions are invited, and it is true that this is democratic, but the final step before action is taken on the basis of group will is governed by “consensus should-ness,” a tacit assumption for everyone to agree with the group will. . . .

Put more briefly, in a consensus system an unrealistic assumption is made, that of complete accord among free-thinking people. This assumption becomes compulsive as the group moves toward a decision. By acts well known to group members, a dissenter is given to understand that he is being a bad sport, that he ought to be reasonable, that he is one (or a few) against many. In sum, his democratic right of disagreeing with a majority *without punishment* is brought into question—in fact, is denied to him. Of course, he is “free” to leave the group, to forfeit his mem-

¹² Fred D. Kerlinger, “The Authoritarianism of Group Dynamics,” *Progressive Education*, 1954, 31: 169. This and other quotations are used by permission of the publishers.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

bership, but if he stays in the group he is subject to group pressures.

On majority rule Kerlinger writes:¹⁴

The fact that individuals differ—and will always differ on important issues—is the assumption behind majority voting. A second assumption is that the majority, while often misguided, will decide wisely in the long run, providing there is freedom of expression and action in the process of decision making. . . . Individuals who differ from the majority decision will go along with it and, if they see fit, will work toward changing that decision.

What, now, is to be decided on this issue? Is group consensus or majority rule the more democratic? The critic cited makes much of the punishments meted out to dissenters in the consensus system, plus the inability of persons, finally, to agree. Neither point, it seems to us, is critical. Where there is a group, there will be pressures on persons to conform to group norms. A teacher-leader can, if he is alert, fend off these influences up to a point, the point being the moment of final decision. He can learn to manage action by democratic means for democratic ends. Whatever the system, it is probable that bargaining will take place, that compromises will be made. This is notably true where interests are fairly well balanced, where power is diffused.

In our view, the principal difference between the two systems lies in the conviction as to how change action can best be effected. In the vote system, a minority can stand by its guns in face of majority action and, as a "responsible opposition," it can continue the battle. It can, in theory, do this without punishment, for the practice is recognized as legitimate. That is, it has cultural sanction. In the consensus system, a minority has no such clearly defined position, no protected status. It will have to settle, in theory, for less than it wants if it is to influence the group decision, for it cannot, without penalty, continue its opposition in face of a majority or near unanimity.

In still more basic terms, an advocate of either system of decision making should take into account two significant variables. One is what Mary Follett calls "the type of interaction which

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

creates new values.”¹⁵ She explains that she does not mean compromise because “neither party gives up what that side really wants.” In a process of “creative bargaining,” parties search for ways of realizing goals which each believes essential. An example would be an industrial conflict in which labor asks for a wage increase that management refuses to grant. Settlement might be made in terms of so-called “fringe benefits.”

Second, we have never found in any form of school and community work a substitute for honesty, fair dealings, generosity, and genuine respect for other persons, especially when they differ with us. No set of mechanics, no system of decision making, can amount to much unless it is founded on these and other moral traits, these qualities of people. Neither consensus nor majority rule nor creative bargaining holds any monopoly on these and other moral virtues. It follows, it seems to us, that good men tend to make good systems.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Do you need more training in writing and speechmaking? Rewrite the Bales research as a report to a PTA. Make a 10-minute speech on this study to a real PTA, or to your class as a simulated PTA. Ask students to rate your presentation.

2. Would you agree that the “management of talk” is the teacher’s chief function as a teacher? Discuss this idea with two education majors outside of your class. See if the three of you can agree, then report to your class.

3. Are you familiar with the “group-conversation” method advocated by Dr. Rachel DuBois? She has published, with M. Li, an 83-page booklet, *Know Your Neighbors*, on this approach. Write for this booklet and review it in class. The address is 204 18th St., New York.

4. Recall the two kinds of leaders, task leaders and social leaders. Prepare a paper to hand in on these leader types, describing either students or instructors whom you have known rather well.

5. For a strong moral orientating in human relations work, a mature intellectual point of view, read and report to class on Earl S. Johnson, *Theory and Practice of the Social Studies*, Macmillan, 1956.

¹⁵ In H. C. Metcalf and L. Urwick (eds.), *Dynamic Administration, the Collected Papers of Mary Parker Follett*, Harper, p. 32ff.

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CHAPTER 14

Democratizing School Administration

The first executive function is to develop and maintain a system of communication.

—CHESTER I. BARNARD

The theme of the chapter is very old in public education and it can be put quite simply. It is, in a word, *when will the bosses get it?* When will they catch on, catch up? A democratic society depends on democratic institutions, particularly on schools and colleges. Centers of learning should teach by their own everyday life what a democracy is and does and means. They should teach by example, rather than preachment. The question is how to democratize more fully top administration, for in every school the administrator calls the tune and sets the pace. We have yet to see a human relations program amount to anything without the head man's active participation and support.

HR problems in the administrative area are many and complex, as the cases in Part Two have indicated. A chapter is, after all, not very long, and the danger is that it will try to do too much. We shall select a few points for discussion, the initial one being why HR activities in public schools fail, where that has been their fate. Second, there is need to understand the position of the school leader (superintendent or principal), the difficult spot he is in. Third, we shall consider the nature of democratic organization, and, fourth, conclude with a range of questions

which administrators ask. Again, as in all chapters in Part Three, we shall depend as far as possible on the findings of research.

WHY HUMAN RELATIONS PROGRAMS FAIL

Since we lack exact data on this point, it will be necessary to speculate. We shall draw mainly on personal experiences as consultants over the past decade, especially on a number of post-mortems conducted for a foundation that had made sizable investments in HR projects in the schools. Reports were in confidence, yet their main points now seem commonplace.

1. *School leaders do not practice what they preach.* They may address big school and public meetings, welcome dignitaries, sign news stories, dash in and out of going programs, praising what they see. Their emphasis is much the same. The times are bad and we must do better, and do more, in the human relations field. Some of these leaders fit the character called elsewhere a "wonderful person,"¹ a type of professional in the good-will movement who merits more study than he has received. If, now, one conducts a follow-up check on these persons, for example by a direct or disguised opinion poll, the odds are that the effects of these individuals will not be strong, nor their influence great. Where these leaders are known to respondents, it is not believed as a general rule that they practice what they preach.

2. *Press of business on school heads.* Reference is to the man-hours of work, and the varieties of work, demanded of superintendents and principals. In a sample of 52 Michigan school heads studied in 1955, those from larger urban communities appeared to be less busy, that is, to have more work time under their control, than did those from smaller places. This was due chiefly to the formers' delegation of authority and responsibility. But even in these advantaged cases, various urgent school tasks took priority, in administrators' opinion, over HR work. In other cases, the majority, human relations activities in and about schools, although viewed as all to the good, had to be let go because of lack of time.

¹ In Lloyd and Elaine Cook, *Intergroup Relations in Teacher Education*, American Council on Education, Washington, 1951, p. 179.

3. *Human relations as a way of talking.* Under conditions of modern urban life, impersonality and anonymity are pronounced. School leaders call school leaders, staff members, and others by their first names and may be so addressed in return. The whole thing means very little, except as a form of "politicking," as that term is used in the South. In respect to day-by-day interaction, there is not the intimacy of knowing, which makes contacts real. Human relations become a way of talking rather than of acting, a form of good manners in which prestigious persons engage.

4. *Administrative ambivalence and incompetence.* There is the type of school leader who doubts that schools should try to do "too much" in the human relations field, who questions the worth of specific projects in view of risks. There is also the leader who, from inexperience, inertia or other causes, is not able to organize, conduct, and assess an HR program of consequence. One suspects these leaders of seeing that their subordinates are kept subordinate, i.e., inferior. Where this system exists, it is an example of mediocrity perpetuating mediocrity, to the disadvantage of all manner of school services and projects.

5. *Organized opposition and distrust.* There is no doubt at all that some school programs in human relations fail because of structured opposition and distrust. These efforts to squelch or to impede HR work may come from some group in the community; from some power figure who has been importuned by, say, parents; or from some clique within the faculty. Related to these aggressive actions are what we shall call the control of the disinterested, the meaning being that programs fail simply because teachers and others refuse to participate.

6. *Training fails to change basic attitudes.* The point at issue is inservice education in campus courses, off-campus workshops, and whatever other forms it takes. Training in human relations may center on nonessentials, or degenerate into hand holding, or go chasing after every kind of individual concern, or simply be low grade. It may show great emphasis on group work skills, often to the complete neglect of learner attitudes, values, and convictions. New practices in dealing with people become roles to be acted out, rather than ways of expressing how leaders

really feel. "In all human relations," says Frank,² "there are no substitutes for sincerity, generosity, and genuine respect for others."

These six items suggest but do not exhaust the reasons why school work in HR education tends to fail. Let us review next a study related to some of these observations, a promising kind of sociological research.

A STUDY OF SCHOOL HEADS

We have referred before to superintendents and principals as "the men in the middle," men shot at from all sides. The term "middleman" is taken from industrial sociology, where it describes the position of the plant foreman as one who is caught between the counter pressures of management and workers. The role of the school head is similar in view of situational demands. The research to be cited is one of a series of leadership studies,³ each a significant contribution to the theory and practice of institutional life and leader role.

Role Conflict and Ambivalence⁴

Study aims. The present study is part of a general shift away from the traditional psychological "traits" approach to leadership, in favor of a sociological approach which stresses situational variables. The aim is to analyze role conflict and ambivalence as found in a sample of school heads and then to state some implications.

By "role conflict" is meant the exposure of individuals in a given position to incompatible behavioral expectations. "Ambivalence" is used to mean the inner, subjective aspect of this conflict, the difficulties experienced by the individual in choosing among alternative courses of action.

Data, methods. Data were gathered in a study of school heads and teachers in 26 Ohio communities. These places, ranging in population from 4,500 to 15,000, were selected as a random sample of the state's

² L. K. Frank, *How to Be a Modern Leader*, Association Press, 1954, p. 11.

³ Ohio State University Leadership Studies, under direction of Professor Carroll L. Shartle.

⁴ A report shortened and simplified, of Melvin Seeman, "Role Conflict and Ambivalence in Leadership," *American Sociological Review*, 1953, 18: 373-380. Used by permission.

"middle-size" cities. In all, superintendents and principals in grade and high schools numbered 77, and teachers 1,065. Main study methods were interview and the administration of pretested scales and questionnaires.

Theory and findings. Role conflict related to leadership can be analyzed under two main concepts, dimensions and types.

One dimension of conflict is *status*. This refers to the clash between the ideology of success, of making good on a job, and of equality, the denial of individual differences. To an extent, these two ideas are incompatible, as seen, for example, in the halo surrounding great men and the sneers directed at them. It is seen better, perhaps, in the army practice of "bucking for promotion" while at the same time criticizing the system in which advancement is sought.

A second dimension of conflict involves *authority*. This is a clash between the values of dependence and independence. This point is well put by Fromm in his comment on modern man's "escape" from freedom.⁵

Freedom, though it has brought him independence and rationality, has made him isolated and, thereby, anxious and powerless. This isolation is unbearable and the alternatives he is confronted with are either to escape from the burden of this freedom into new dependencies and submission, or to advance to the full realization of positive freedom.

The third area of conflict is *institutional*. A common example is the clash between a leader's obligations to friends and to society. By the latter is meant his responsibilities for the conduct of the institution, for its services to people, for its economy, and the like.

Fourth, role conflict has a *means-ends* dimension. Much of the writing in group dynamics shows a concern with this conflict in its relative emphasis on group process and group product. A leader who stresses product, in the sense of achievement may feel a neglect of process, a lowering of group morale.

One type of role conflict in which these dimensions find expression is in the *agreement of the criterion group*, in this case the teachers, *on the behaviors which leaders find it hard to achieve under institutional conditions*. A single, striking example of this point must suffice.

Teachers were asked to rate superintendents on a social-distance scale, the degree of informal contact they had with teachers; and then these ratings were correlated with staff salary increases. The finding

⁵ Erich Fromm, *Escape from Freedom*, Rinehart, 1941, p. vii.

was a positive correlation of .40 (significant at the .05 level) in all 26 communities, between school-leader separatism and teacher pay increase over a 3-year period. Since teachers condemn superintendent aloofness and, of course, approve their own salary raises, the school leader is in the position of being expected to do two things which do not, as one superintendent said, "go together."

To quote this man further: "You do not visit your classrooms regularly because you're writing publicity for the next tax levy that you can't have fail. It must pass. . . . You don't know, therefore, what's going on in classrooms."

Teachers know that tax levies must pass, that school heads must work hard on school business, yet they may not realize the costs in mental health and physical well-being. That "success" exacts tolls is not pure speculation. The sense of tremendous strain and pressure, the result of cumulative—often incompatible—school and community demands, runs through many of the interviews with school superintendents.

The data just cited illustrate two of the conflict dimensions to which reference has been made, the status dimension and the ends-means clash. That is, teachers define economic ends and primary-group means (friendly, face-to-face contacts) as goods in an institutional setting in which superintendents are expected to achieve both but find it difficult to do so.

Another type of role conflict involves *disagreement within the criterion group*. Data on this point were gathered in 10 force-choice questions asked 500 teachers. One question was, "Should an ideal superintendent invite staff members to his home for social occasions?" Another question asked if he should "feel free to discuss his personal problems with teachers?" Yes and no responses were given as alternatives. On both queries, teacher vote was divided about 60 to 40, showing sharp disagreement within the criterion group.

The above responses reflect conflict in the institutional dimension of the school head's role. Teacher concern and disagreement center in the issue of whether the superintendent will be drawn into personal dealings and favoritism if his staff contacts go beyond the official, impersonal demands of his office.

One forced-choice question was on the status aspect of role conflict. It asked whether the superintendent should "generally act as chairman of group meetings (total staff, grade meetings, committees)." The teacher vote here was 63 per cent yes and 37 per cent no.

An awareness of these differences among teachers as to what super-

intendents should be and do was not evident among the school heads who were interviewed. For the most part, they made evasive comments, for example, the idea that "democracy sanctions wide differences of opinion."

A third type of role conflict centered in *disagreement between criterion groups as to the superintendent's role*. This represents the authority dimension, since one important aspect is the variation between the leaders and their subordinates in defining the leader role.

Both superintendents and teachers were asked three questions:

- A. Where a student's passing or failing is doubtful, do you think that an ideal superintendent should:
 - 1. leave the decision up to the teacher?
 - 2. pretty much take responsibility for the final decision?
- B. Should an ideal school leader work out school problems with:
 - 1. a maximum of efficient personal leadership?
 - 2. a maximum of staff participation in the decisions made?
- C. Should an ideal school leader:
 - 1. fit his ideas into group discussion in about the same way as do other group members?
 - 2. tell the group at the outset what his ideas are on the subject under discussion?

In these questions, one alternative (A-2, B-1, C-2) defines the leader role in a direct, "true-leader" way; the other in a less direct, "more democratic" manner. On A, only 40 per cent of the superintendents voted to leave decision to the teacher, as compared with 80 per cent of the teachers who voted. On B, 5 per cent of the school heads as against 17 per cent of the teachers selected "efficient personal leadership," and on C about 7 per cent of superintendents but a full 20 per cent of their subordinates chose the "tell the group at the outset" answer.

All items in the scale deal in some way with the allocation of responsibility, thus with the dependence-independence dimension. In some instances, the majority opinion of both groups (school heads and teachers) is antithetical, with teachers demanding more responsibility than school heads are ready to give. Second, even where there is majority agreement, a significant minority of teachers ask, in effect, that superintendents assert authority in situations where other teachers would deny them that authority. Third, school heads often complained in interviews that their efforts toward democratic administra-

tion were blocked by teachers who did not wish to take the responsibility that goes along with decision making.

School-head ambivalence. So far we have dealt with role conflict from the outside. Is there evidence that the school heads themselves show the kinds of inner ambivalence which might be expected from these role contradictions and confusions? There is ample proof that this is, indeed, the case.

For example, on the status dimension one superintendent both denied and affirmed the importance of status, thus contradicting himself. In the first part of the interview, he said, in speaking of his position as school head:

It carries a tremendous social prestige and professional prestige, and I'm sometimes annoyed—well, I have a Ph.D.—but I'm sometimes annoyed because I never use the title myself, but they're [teachers] always careful to use it. It's an annoyance to me because it's unimportant to me personally. I'm very much puzzled every once in a while by running into that experience where they [teachers] would prefer to have me out in front, which I don't particularly want to be.

This comment shows a tendency to play down status, to belittle its significance. Later, when the superintendent was asked to tell about "the positive things" associated with his job, his remark was:

When I think about it, there's a lot of satisfaction because of the prestige the position of superintendent carries in this community. I've been amazed how just a word here or there will carry tremendous weight. It will with factory management, and it will in business circles. I've had a lot of satisfaction from that . . .

The comment of a second school head: "You can become too much of an equal, be too friendly." Still another: "I mean they [teachers] would feel, 'He's an old buddy of mine.' If you had to crack the whip, or set down some rule, then they'd be offended."

On the authority dimension, there was similar confusion. One school head:

You're not showing very much leadership if you follow. Your experiences should train you to have a strong point of view, and not be influenced by the group. Of course, there is the other side of the picture. Two or three or four minds, if they've good minds, always strengthen a point.

On the ends-means dimension, some school heads expressed ambivalence and others indicated strong commitment to the "true-leader" type of action. One said: "I think you will find that you can lead them [faculty] around to the place where they will see things as you want them. . . . You know, after all, you appoint your committees. You have key persons that you use as chairmen, and those chairmen feel pretty much as you do. At least you can talk it over with them. You control your committee through your chairman."

In statistical terms, superintendents and principals scaled lower in ambivalence than did teaching staffs. They felt less conflict in their concepts of leader role than did the teachers in defining leader-role content.

Implications. In general, this study shows three major conclusions, subject to further confirmation. First, school heads are placed in a position of built-in conflict, conflict which inheres in their leadership role. Second, teachers—and the public—demand of these leaders greater clarity of role than they, teachers and public, possess. Third, although every superintendent and principal has ways of avoiding role conflict or resolving it, much of this conflict cannot be shifted. It must be lived with, so to speak, and it exacts a price, especially in the mental health of the individual.

At least two questions flow from the above findings, both in need of definitive research. What differences does it make in teacher morale, school efficiency, etc., if the school head is aware of school-community pressures on him and in this light, adopts particular modes of adjustment and resolution? Presumably, school heads do differ in these respects, so that the question deals with consequences of these variations. Second, what kinds of training in human relations, for administrators and for teachers, would affect optimal changes in the present system of built-in conflicts and confusions? Obviously, no narrow kind of skill training in group work processes would suffice.

Experienced teachers and school heads like this research. It gives them a frame of reference into which to fit a number of their job concerns, and it goes much deeper into realities than does a great deal of writing on the administrative role. In general, these men and women do not want to be exhorted or cajoled, but to be informed, to be instructed. Teachers who aspire to school-head positions are led often to take another look at their ambitions. What most ponder, as a rule, is whether they are by

temperament and training capable of sustaining the tensions which appear to be inherent in administrative work.

DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION

We recall a general store in a Vermont village where summer visitors were wont to go. It was a veritable treasure trove of odds and ends. Here were mousetraps among overshoes, chocolate candies with wool socks, plaid shirts hidden under the counter next to recordings and prints. Miss Ann, proprietor, was far too wise to reduce this confusion, for people liked to root among the incongruities. They liked to dig about, to try their luck, then to exclaim over what they found.

At times we chide our students on their taste for disorder, their lack of interest in basic thought on administrative organization. They will seize upon details, for example, a specific school law, how to solve a minor conflict in scheduling, an atypical fire hazard to avoid. They will bury themselves in details in order to dodge, we suspect, broad and over-all thinking. This is not good time-use, for specifics get meaning, perhaps become less consequential, in terms of principles.

1. Why have school organization of any kind? As conclusive an answer as any, possibly, is given in Exodus 18: 13-26.

Delegation of Authority

Moses sat to judge the people; and the people stood about Moses from the morning unto the evening. And when Moses' father-in-law saw all that he did . . . he said unto him: "The thing thou doest is not good. Thou wilt surely wear away, both thou and this people with thee; for the thing is too heavy for thee—thou art not able to perform it thyself alone.

"Harken now unto my voice. . . . Be thou for the people Godward, and bring thou the causes unto God. Then thou shalt teach the statutes and the laws, and thou shalt show them the way wherein they must walk, and the work they must do.

"Moreover thou shalt provide out of all the people able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating unjust gain; and place such over them, to be the rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties,

and rulers of tens; and let them judge the people at all seasons. And it shall be that every great matter they shall bring unto thee, but every small matter they shall judge themselves. So shall it be easier for thyself, and they shall bear the burden with thee.

"If thou do this thing, then thou shall endure, and all of this people shall go to their places in peace."

One must read this passage aloud, reflect on it, if he would savor its full strength. The reason for having organization is to get the work done, to get it done wisely, justly, and with economy. Human energy is limited; in truth, its definite limits are a distinctive feature of human life. There is so much to do, always and forever too much. What shall be done, by whom, how, and at what level of competence? Organization is a way of describing the elements that go into an answer, a patterning of the elements into a functional whole.

2. What kinds of school organizations are possible? If, again, one seeks to answer in the broad, a diagram by Kurt Lewin as modified by Maier is a powerful stimulus to increasingly specific thought.

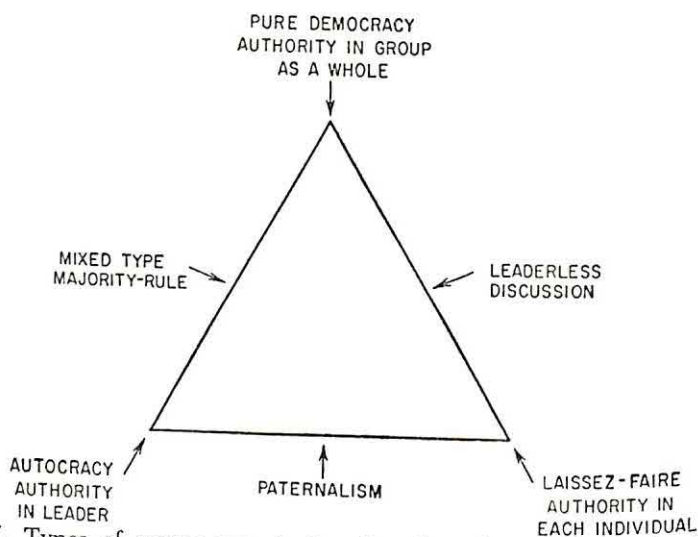


FIGURE 7. Types of group organization based on location of authority. (From Kurt Lewin, as adapted by Norman Maier in *Principles of Human Relations*, Wiley, 1952, p. 21. Used by permission of John Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York.)

Figure 7 is fairly self-explanatory. It suggests the possibility of three pure and three mixed types of school organization. It is no

task at all for experienced school administrators to illustrate some of these patterns from their own experiences, after which comes the search for definitive principles.

3. Still in an effort to get the broader picture, a third question should be raised. What kind of school organization is the best? It should be noted that this query differs from the other two. They called for factual data, whereas the issue now up involves a value judgment, an estimate as to worth.

Well over three-fourths of a large number of students to whom the above question has been put have answered in a word: *democratic*. Asked to give the one main reason for their choice, about six in ten say, in effect, "Why, we *are* a democracy," as if any other answer would be inconceivable. The remainder have taken the line that the best organization is the one that gets the school's work done effectively. They are as democratic as they can be in view of the difficulties they have experienced in educating the young.

QUESTIONS ADMINISTRATORS ASK

On occasion, we have invited school heads to withdraw from large, mixed classes in human relations education and to meet in small-group sessions. These seminars have been organized in terms of student questions, and these questions are as good a way as any of getting at the logic of democratic school administration.

1. You speak of "democracy" and "efficiency." Aren't these like the gingham dog and calico cat, natural enemies? If, on the contrary, they are compatible, how should they be combined in good school administration?

How is diet to be combined with exercise, and exercise with sleep, and sleep with work, and work with rest, in good health? We know of no formula for this, no advice except to keep a sensible balance, to correct failures as they become evident, and to learn to live with one's inherent limitations. Lest this be judged an evasive answer, a further word is necessary.

Efficiency means, we believe, that a school head must achieve maximum results at lowest cost in money, energy, and time. Democracy means that he must satisfy, so far as consistent with the public good, the needs and interests of all the individuals in the school. Second, these persons must have the opportunity to participate in the decisions affecting them. Third, his use of power is subject to review, for he governs only by consent of the governed.

So defined, there is conflict between efficiency and democracy. School people are, after all, people. Some are wasteful, some uninformed, some not well in body and mind, and some do not care. They may put self-interest first, or advance the concerns of a particular group, at the expense of the common weal. By the nature of the situation, someone has to study operations, to organize and control. If that someone is democratic, he will share the authority vested in him to the fullest possible extent.

To relate the concepts under study, one must assign priority to one or the other. To us, democratic management is the end, the goal, of school administration, with efficiency as the means. If, however, a school head asks first off what a service or a program costs, rather than what it will contribute to democratic living in the school community, it would appear that the above ends-means relationship is reversed. The question is complicated and merits much more talk.

2. By law a principal is responsible for a school, a superintendent for a school system. Can either really hand over his authority to a faculty, a committee, an individual? There is a lot of loose thinking in my school about this.

A school head can and does delegate authority; in fact, to assign duties without giving the authority to act is bad administration. This does not, however, free the head from accountability to the school board and the public. It does not free him, if one will think deeper, of responsibility to his staff and faculty, and to the students whom the institution serves. In final analysis, in our theory of the matter, a school head must justify himself to himself. He should be, in every sense of the word, a professional

person, one dedicated to the finest ideals of morality and public service. He should have the welfare of all at heart.

3. Why not govern simply by majority rule? Turn over school management to school faculties, or to faculties and students. Let them decide by vote as to what to do.

There are many ways of escaping leader responsibilities, this being a fairly naïve one. A reader might review, if he wished, what was said in the past chapter about consensus versus majority rule. The real point of the question overlaps two other queries and we might as well state these two.

4. Should I, as superintendent, represent the faculty to the board as well as the reverse? Should I represent the community to the schools and the schools to the community? If my function is truly that of "middleman" then, all things considered, how can I keep from being torn in two?

5. This city is all split into pieces, with pressure groups pulling and hauling at one another and at the schools. How can the schools function under such conditions? When can they be freed of all vested-interest control?

Public schools can never, we believe, be freed of public interest and control, nor should they be unless we misunderstand the basic theory of democratic education. The time for a school head to worry is when the public, as represented by all manner of group spokesmen, stops trying to influence school-board and other decisions. Yes, from our standpoint, we want the public concerned about its schools, yet the issue is admittedly complex and honest thinkers may differ honestly in their final views.

Our society is big and getting bigger all the time. Bigness begets bigness; that is, it has a multiplying effect. There is first the arithmetic of numbers, the logistics of resources, as populations grow. Second, bigness leads to ongoing changes in all phases of group life. Under extreme conditions, it produces great bureaucracies where the job of reaching from the bottom—or within the ranks—to top authority is very difficult. The usual remedy is to create a new division, department, agency, or office to ride herd

on the lot. The result is, of course, to increase still further the organization's size and complexity.

The problem, or so it seems to us, is not how to get rid of bureaucracy, for that is quite impossible. It is how to reduce bureaucratic defects by efficient democratic control. If, furthermore, it is granted that people are different, that they have a right to organize to advance their interests, then one has a foundation on which to reflect on the school administrator's role.

To continue, an administrator does not just administer. He administers something—a family, hospital, business, industry, school. What is a school? It is a physical plant, a population, a cultural world, an interactional process, an object of concern to parents and the public. A school, even a very small school, is many things. It is above all a political system in the true sense of the word. It is a field of forces, a struggle to order human relations, to exert influence, with the end in view of furthering the teaching and learning process.

What is the school head's essential job? In any social system where member roles are defined by member interests, where groups are set to promote their needs, someone must look out for the general good, the public interest. To search out this interest and to move toward it is, we believe, the administrator's central responsibility. His action will take the form, more often than not, of balancing divergent views, developing standards of performance, checking unit costs, informing the board and the public, and maintaining their active support. All this might be said more briefly by remarking that the leader's job is to lead.

If it be argued that the public interest is vague, we admit it. It is, as a rule, vague, variable, and conflicting. Yet it is hard to think of a substitute for the concept, a word with greater clarity. A school head may not know, in truth seldom does know, what the public interest in education is, where the common good lies in this or that issue. If, further, it be held that the good is unknowable, that it cannot be discovered, then we are obliged to dissent. Case after case in the book has told how this search has been pressed, and there is no need here to repeat details.

There is one thought that will bear repetition. It has been said that school heads should be less disturbed about group pressures

than about their absence. It is well to recall a business axiom, namely, "Silence accompanies a sure fix rather than a free market." One can find schools so set in their ways, so traditionalized, that no human relations program is possible. These schools may make a showing of their HR façade but no serious student of education would reckon on this as significant. No, the press of community interests on the school is not all bad, nor is the steady rub of group on group within the institution. Friction has the function of stimulating creative thought and action in situations where it is brought under reasonable and cooperative control.

6. If I were 10 men, had the strength of 10, I couldn't do the amount of work that comes my way, keep up with this job. How do other school heads manage? I never have any free time.

"Energy," as the poet Blake has said, "is endless delight," but only when (if we may add) it is attached to goals that count. Every administrator needs to make—to keep revised and up to date—a list of priorities in his job, plus outer time limits on even these work tasks. Another need is to inform the public the year around, students, teachers, everyone, on the nature of the administrative task, how time is spent, what is important. Third, no school head can expect to work the clock-hours of many average teachers. His day will go much longer, for that is in the nature of his job. There is no sense, however, in anyone's killing himself by either work or worry. He should organize and delegate, and he should have an adequate staff. If, after repeated requests for additional help, there is no board sanction for it, it might be well for him to find another job. Circumstances could make a difference, so that we have no wish to be dogmatic.

The main answer to the question, if our observations are reliable, and we are a bit ashamed to speak so bluntly, is along a different line. It is simply a state of mind, that of getting work done. One can learn to pick up a task, study it, handle it, assign it, and go on to the next task. The difference between administrators who do this and those who do not is more psychological than it is physical or physiological. Either pattern of action might involve in theory an equal energy output. The main variable, to repeat, would appear to be a state of mind.

7. My great trouble is "paper work," as I think you called it in a lecture. I wish each school head in our study group would report to the class on that.

It is with reason that Barnard⁶ begins his classic study of the business executive with this chapter's theme, namely, "The first executive function is to develop and maintain a system of communication." We can think of little that is more important, that makes or breaks a total school system. No passing comment can be adequate, since the need is for a book on the subject.

How does news travel in a school or school system?

The captain told the mate and . . .
The mate told the crew.
The crew told me, so . . .
I know it must be true.

Official information tends to travel downward and outward. A prime management problem is how to get reactions to move upward and inward, to keep the top and bottom of a structured system responsive and responsible. For other kinds of news, such as the gripes of students and faculty, the odds are against upward diffusion. It is commonly said that school heads are the last to hear the gossip about them. When they hear it, if they do, they get it at its best (or worst), for it has by this time suffered its maximum distortion.

In courses for school administrators, the study of communication tends to center on routines. Not that the work is no good, for the opposite is more likely to be true. One can observe good teaching on such disparate topics as letters to parents, bulletin-board notices, interoffice memos, press releases, and publicity campaigns. Often these and other items are lumped together in a general course on public relations. Within the school system, the advice most often given is to keep communications reasonable, complete, and clear; to put all important matter into writing; and to indicate a due date for reply and/or compliance.⁷

⁶ Chester I. Barnard, *The Functions of the Executive*, Harvard University Press, 1938.

⁷ A good example of the handbook or manual in business practice is C. E. Redfield, *Communication in Management: A Guide to Administrative Communication*, University of Chicago Press, 1953.

A promising lead to communications research for schools, as it has been in business and industry, is to study the psychological integration of the total school system. What is meant are the interrelations of staff and line, the loyalties of personnel, worker satisfactions and complaints, the fusion of personalities into offices and functions, areas of privacy reserved by employees, and the capacity of the system to reward diversity of ideas. Much research has demonstrated that where personality needs are in line with organizational aims and practices, worker morale is high. Failures to communicate are conspicuously absent.

8. Dewey has said that "every thinker puts some part of a stable universe in danger." Might one turn this around and say that every thinker puts himself in danger if he makes proposals for change action? How can risks be calculated in advance?

This question is too much for us. Nothing worth saying could be said in less than a chapter and even then "imponderables" would have to be emphasized.

9. I try to visit several classrooms every day, to look in on instructors and pupils. I am told that teachers think I am spying. How can I correct this false impression?

It hurts administrators to tell them that some supervision does look like spying on teachers and pupils. At times it takes the form of faultfinding, open criticism, and poor human relations. It does not take the form of seeking common interests, praising work well done, asking questions and listening to answers, creating new motivations, trying to be helpful.

We remember well a superintendent, the first in our teaching experience. When he visited our classroom, he would greet us by name, perhaps shake hands. He would take a seat and speak when invited to comment. He might join with the students in some activity. Unless he planned to stay until the period ended, he would seek a break in the work process. After some comment, he might raise a question or suggest a reading. His exit lines were fairly standard. How were things going? Were we getting on as we wished? What could be done to help us?

Since this man served also as principal of the high school, it

was not unusual for him to make his observations the subject of comment at faculty meetings. Matters were kept impersonal, so that no teacher, to our knowledge, was offended. The group as a whole was asked to tell how this or that could be handled, or else a study committee was appointed. Needless to add, the visit of this wise and kindly leader to any classroom was a stimulus to better teaching.

10. Are school heads "manipulative" in their control of teachers, students, and the public? If so, must they be so? Does their position as administrator demand this kind of action?

If by this is meant trickery, subterfuge, or exploitation, there is no place for "manipulation" in school business. If the term is made synonymous with group leadership, as some writers appear to make it, then manipulative practices are inevitable. They are an organic part of group life, for no group is leaderless. The underlying issue, the bedrock point, is how to build faith and keep faith with people whom one aspires to lead. We say *lead* because the issue all but disappears if the task is to be nice, to make friends. To lead means to motivate sensible, self-willed changes in persons, and these changes may meet with resistance. Moreover, who can be fully certain as to outcomes, the direct effects along with all of their concomitants? Trust, mutual trust, is implicit in the relationship of the leader and the led, for no one can do business for very long with a dishonest man.

If a school administrator knows that he can seldom lead directly, that his main function is to find a group's leaders and to lead through them, this fact should send him on a search for leader types. Here is an idea man, a smart thinker, and there an organizer, a dynamo of energy. Over there in the corner is a quiet man, one noted for his depth of feeling, his sensitivities to human needs and conditions. Whatever the talent that comes to light, the administrative role is to fit people together, to combine the abilities of all into the best possible work team or work system. He cannot, of course, do anything like this unassisted.

As one sees school leadership or tries to practice it, he will be inclined to develop rough (or exact) gauges of its essential nature. One test is an ends-means test, where each concept is a con-

venient point in a cause-effect-cause continuum. When E is ends, M is means, and D is democratic, these are possibilities:

$$\begin{aligned} &DE + DM \\ &DE + \text{UnDM} \\ &\text{UnDE} + DM \\ &\text{UnDE} + \text{UnDM} \end{aligned}$$

The ideal is democratic ends plus democratic means, as when a school faculty, after due consideration, votes on an administrator's proposal for teacher welfare. Undemocratic ends and undemocratic means are not hard to spot, perhaps to counteract. The difficulty is often in the middle categories, in part democratic but in part not, and, as a rule, under screens which resist penetration in search of right and truth.

Another useful test is to observe leadership when the going is rough. In these cases, thrust and parry can be sharp, and fires long smouldering may leap suddenly into flames. What, then, does the leader do? Does he control himself? Has he learned to discipline his emotions? In what direction and by what processes does he seek to lead? How does he treat the opposition? Regardless of who wins and who loses, does the group's respect for the leader increase?

"The ability to reason," quips G. B. Shaw, "is as desirable as ever, since it is only by accurate reasoning that we can calculate our actions so as to do what we intend to do—that is, to fulfill our will." There is a sense in which the great iconoclast seems right. There may come times in school business when no further reasoning appears to matter, times when action is joined regardless. One commits himself to a task, ignoring the odds against him. It is quite impossible to foresee these times, to chart them in advance, yet they appear in many job histories. It is how a man stands at these moments that either advances or retards the cause of good school administration.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. If you can observe one or more school programs in human relations, do so. Report to the class on (a) their success or failure, and (b) how the school head relates himself to the HR program.

2. What new light if any does the Seeman study throw on the school administrator? Be specific as to what you believe you have learned from this research.

3. Review for the class L. K. Frank's *How to Be a Modern Leader* (Association Press, 1954).

4. Assemble a panel of school heads to answer the 10 questions which have been commented on in the chapter. Study the points on which panel members disagree with the views of the authors, and then state your own considered opinions.

5. Have you known school or college administrators who held fast to the letter of the law while ignoring its spirit? If so, prepare a paper to hand in on two aspects of this subject: (a) reasons for this action, (b) how rules should be administered in a school or college system.

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CHAPTER 15

Community Change, Leader Roles

The wise seek knowledge and action as one:
They seek truly.
Take either path
And tread it to the end:
The end is the same,
There the followers of action
Meet the seekers after knowledge
In equal freedom.

—*Bhagavad-Gita*

What school people do not readily comprehend is that when they take a school job, they join a going social system, the local community. Part of their work life is spent at school, part in the community. Put for a final time, public schools are becoming agents of public policy on health, welfare, safety, and educational matters involving the young. Schools do not, of course, announce policy. They work with the public, and with governmental and citizen bodies, to define and implement policy. They are cooperators in, at times gives leadership to, local area study and action movements.

The aim of the chapter is to think in these directions. The first half of the chapter develops some key ideas within a general frame of reference. Topics are the community as a system of human relations, sanctions for change action, the path of action,

and the power structure. The second half deals with the school leader's study-action roles, the parts open to school personnel if they wish to participate in community "change action" programs.

COMMUNITY AS A HUMAN RELATIONS SYSTEM

A teacher's learning about community is mostly a personal experience. Of course, he or she has studied the concept in college, but this work is seldom deep-going. Learnings that last are picked up on the run, which is unfortunate, for they come too late—as cases in Part Two show—to be of maximum help in school and community activities.

As a rule, a teacher is admitted first to area "togetherness" in terms of visible symbols—a new post office or courthouse, a thriving cheese factory, a view of the landscape, fishing boats at dock, a famous local character, a historical landmark, plans for a great civic development. There may follow snatches of community history, real and fictional, great moments in town life. Presently, in the process of *assimilation*, the newcomer is taken into social groups, those with lesser civic responsibility. By this time, the stranger has caught the feel of deeper phases of the human whole, for example, the stream of gossip about persons who are worth the talk it takes to build them into symbols of area attitudes and values.

Many tests of sociological fitness for community membership have marked this pathway. Imagine, to illustrate, that the *outsider* has noted defects in this best of places, this place more favored than any other. Being a forthright person, he speaks out for civic action and reform. What happens then is a caution. The critic is met with politeness for, after all, he is new; he doesn't know. If, however, he persists in his negative views, there is definite rebuke, even a desire to punish. The individual is advised to take it easy, to get better acquainted with conditions, to talk with old-timers in the area. Unless now the teacher has learned a lesson, his assimilation has gone as far as it can go. To be "in" but not "of" the community, a part of, yet detached—is the fate of most school persons.

All this suggests the point at issue; namely, every community is a system of human relations or, better, a series of interlocking

systems. The concept of "system" comes in part from Parson's¹ structural-functional analysis; in part it is as old as human history. It has oriented a vast amount of sociological research, more than any other concept except "group," which is itself a system.

The term *system* means an organic whole, a functional unity of unlike parts which operate to achieve, or seek to achieve, whatever the whole is designed to be and do. Part-units are so inter-related, so interdependent, that changes in any one will tend to cause changes in others. The whole may absorb the changes and be strengthened by them. It may resist them, with the effects indeterminate, or it may end by being destroyed and replaced by another system.

The aim has been to ready the above concept for application to community, and one way to do this is via a fragment of a research report.

COMMUNITY IN ACTION

The report to which reference has been made is a study of a community study, a self-survey of health needs and practices in Talladega, Alabama. This is a town of about 14,500 population, a pleasant and attractive Southern city. The survey was made by a community council, a representative lay body, and the writers of the report were university consultants to this group.

The project to be described was a very small segment of the total, two years of work. It had as its aim the fluoridation of city drinking water in order to reduce tooth decay in young people. The study committee was in charge of Dr. Toole, a local dentist, and included lay, business, and professional representatives. Although this group worked hard, it was unable to achieve its objective. The case will suggest (1) how some human relations systems are related, and (2) the way "inertia" operates to prevent a change when no real opposition is apparent.

*The Fluoridation Project*²

Fluoridation was among the first topics turned in to the community council for study and action, and it became the concern of the Com-

¹ For example, Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, Free Press, 1951.

² Adapted from S. T. Kimball and M. Pearsall, *The Talladega Story: A Study in Community Process*, University of Alabama Press, 1954, pp. 102-115. Used by permission.

mittee on Dental Health. Its chairman, Dr. Toole, was well known and highly respected. He came of an old Talladega family, long prominent in civic and social affairs. Thus, in his own person, the chairman linked together several local systems, for example, kinship, friendship, civic, and professional.

The Committee's first step was to digest studies on fluoridation. These researches showed that fluorides were effective in reducing tooth decay and that their use in city water was not costly. The Committee's next step was to inform the public. The two local papers printed a letter signed by Talladega dentists; and group members, notably the chairman, spoke to some twenty civic and other organizations, including the County Medical Association and the city Parent-Teacher Association. All these groups passed resolutions favoring the project.

At this point, there was no opposition to fluoridation, nothing to suggest the project's failure. The situation contrasted sharply with what had taken place in Sylacauga, a community nearby.

In Sylacauga, the person who first pressed for fluoridation was the city sanitary officer. He did not enlist the support of the social systems most concerned with children: families, schools, churches, health professions; and they did not, in consequence, back his efforts. Moreover, when the officer presented the proposal to the city commission, he could not give cost figures. Finally, a chiropractor had been put on the fluoridation committee, a man who felt bound by his profession to oppose any "medication" of city water.

Although the Talladega group avoided these errors, it ran into trouble with the economic and political systems, notably the latter.

First inkling of public feeling was the spread by gossip that the project would cost the city \$25,000 and thus raise taxes substantially. After rechecking his cost figures, Toole phoned Tuscaloosa. He found that its installation cost for fluoridation was less than \$3,000, and that operating costs were about 10¢ per year per capita. In all, Dr. Toole computed that Talladega's expenses could be met by raising water taxes \$1 a year, certainly not a prohibitive figure.

Armed with these facts, the Committee called on each city commissioner. It then appeared before the commission with a formal petition, including a long list of signatures. It was now that the nature of "politics" was made manifest and a word in comment is needed.

Fluoridation had not been a political issue, so that no commissioner was committed to it in a public sense. But since the project sought to further the health of children, a prime American value, it would be

hazardous to oppose it. The aim of any political system is, we suppose, "to keep everybody happy," and in this light the commission's action is significant. It favored fluoridation *if* the city could pay for it!

The Committee on Dental Health assumed now that its job was done, that the fight had been won. A year later almost, it was discovered that fluoridation had not been included in plans for a new city waterworks. The only thing to do was to renew the fight, to carry it to voters and try to win their support.

It is interesting to speculate on what might have happened had the water project gone through "channels" as did, say, a city sales tax. The commissioners had acted with dispatch on the sales tax, voting in favor, two to one. When opposition developed, the two men stood firm, sure of community backing, and the tax became law. The fluoridation project, by contrast, had been shelved, with no one apparently opposed and hence no one to blame.

As the Toole committee pushed ahead, the immediate effect was to divide the community pro and con. Curiously, arguments for and against evoked the same values, thus obscuring the real issue. The community council took active part, backing its committee. It called a big public meeting on fluoridation. To quote the first paragraph in a press report:

Members of the Talladega Community Council made it plain at the Courthouse meeting Monday night that they want the recently voted increase in water rates to provide for the cost of fluoridating the municipal water supply to curtail tooth decay among children. And if the costs cannot be met in this fashion, they want the fluoridation program carried out in the near future anyway. . . ."

This editor used three issues of his column to answer arguments against the project. Dr. Toole wrote a letter, published in full. After explaining why dentists favored fluoridation and reminding the city fathers of their "unique opportunity to benefit the health of our community for years to come," Toole asked citizens to buttonhole these men, to indicate "in a friendly way . . . that you are vitally interested in the matter of fluoridation."

After members of the commission visited Tuscaloosa and returned with a favorable impression, it seemed again that the fight had been won. The press comment was:

The city fathers joined the water commissioners Tuesday in endorsing fluoridation for Talladega water, providing state authorities give their OK. . . . Members of the Water Board met

with Mayor Elliott and the commissioners to report on the trip. . . . The city approved the board recommendation and if the state, which checks each city wanting fluoridation, gives its approval, an ordinance will be drawn up.

It is hard to believe that, after this statement, the project could hang up, but that is the way it ended. Apparently, the city officials who should have initiated action, did not do so. Dr. Toole had been drafted for army service and, in colloquial terms, no one kept on the ball.

Every community has its customary way of settling civic issues, its structure of action into which relevant subsystems fit. Some of these part-units have been seen in the case, though the main focus has been on the action process.

The authors believe that, had fluoridation come up within the local political system, been debated and endorsed, it would have passed into law. Why was the idea not taken over by the politicians? Our guess is that it was too good. When fluoridation was linked with the child symbol, a potent sanction for change action, there was no firm "anti" side. A party stands to gain little it counts important unless there is a cause to fight, an opposition to overcome. Lacking this, the party may be inert, more or less indifferent, to welfare issues and outcomes.

SANCTIONS FOR CHANGE ACTION

By what right does any segment of a community, any subsystem, seek to expand its services at more public cost? What are the signs and seals of legitimacy in making area changes, assurances that the common good will be served? Very, very few Part Two cases ever take these questions into account. In general, school leaders would do better in their campaigns to influence the public if they would consider the questions just asked.

We were invited recently to study the sanctions to which appeals for "tot lots" in a large city could be addressed. The campaign was in charge of a lay committee, backed by the school system, the PTA, the churches, the Chamber of Commerce, and various civic groups. The request was to sample the public and to report, not on reactions for or against, but on the reasons behind these expressions of opinion. Here are words that represent-

ative citizens used in our interviews with them on the subject of "tot-lot" playgrounds.

Sanctions, Some Examples

1. Well, now, you can put me done for this. When the schools are closed for the summer, the kids ain't got much place to play. They run out and get into trouble. I say for the schools to get these tot lots. Try them out.

2. Playgrounds themselves are no good. They have to have supervision. I am not sure that schoolteachers can do this or should do it. Our need here in — is for trained recreational leaders.

3. I am opposed to this action and I do not think the schools have a legal right under city charter and ordinances to go ahead with it. If you want to know my views, I am strongly opposed.

4. The Association [Chamber of Commerce] favors the superintendent's proposal, and so does the Rotary Club. I know these boys pretty well and I'll go along with them.

5. Out here [East Side], we like this new superintendent of the public schools. Roth, Rothe, whatever his name is. If the superintendent wants more playgrounds, the East Side will support him.

6. I don't think we should be rushed into this. . . . The way this community does is to talk things over. Everybody get his say, and then we can decide. See what I mean?

7. I am seventy-two, comin' onto seventy-three. Lived here all my life. Seen taxes go up and up, to the sky. But I'll tell you, friend, the best people here don't kick if the money is spent on the kids. Mind you, I don't mean wasted spent. I mean spent for something the young folks need.

Each of these concretions is different and each indicates a sanction to which tot-lot campaigners might appeal. Sanctions are in order: need for change, competence, legal authority, group sponsorship, personal liking and trust, area tradition, and overall community values. The process of securing sanction for a planned change action is *legitimation*, a term worth remembering.

PATH OF CHANGE ACTION

Cases such as the tot-lot campaign and the fluoridation project tend to fall into a repeat pattern, so that generalization is possible.

ble. In broad terms, the picture of change action is somewhat as seen in Figure 8.

The start of change action is in a feeling of want, need, or interest, on the part of one or more persons. If the community is small, its culture intact, its human relations intimate, friends will talk with friends, so that an idea will gather a following. In time, for townfolk are not as a rule in a hurry, the view is shaped into

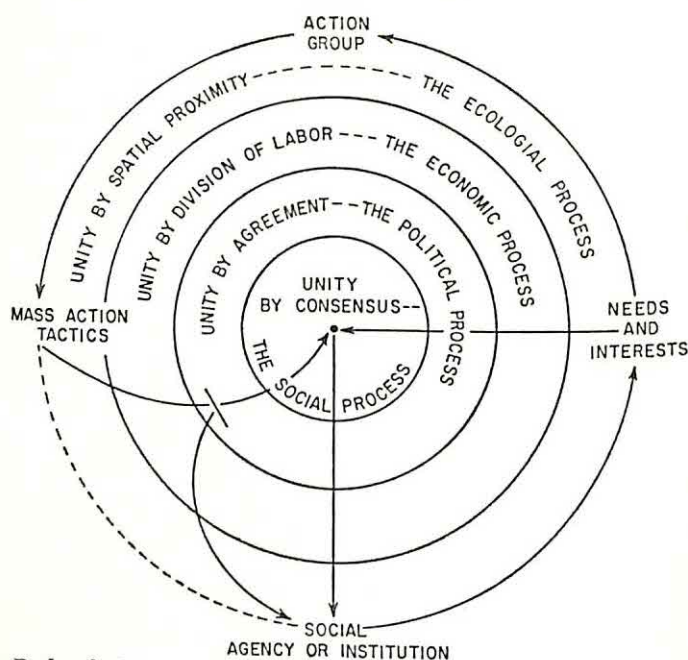


FIGURE 8. Path of change action. (From Lloyd A. Cook and Elaine F. Cook, *A Sociological Approach to Education*, McGraw-Hill, 1950, p. 193.)

a proposal for area action. No opposition appears; hence no campaign is necessary. It is assumed that the matter is in the public interest and, after routine acceptance, it goes to government, the schools, or other agencies for instrumentation. The process, although slow, is spontaneous rather than promoted.

In modern big-city life, consensus is notably lacking. The community has long since split into organized and unorganized parts, with the former divided into factions. An idea travels the outer rim of Figure 8, creating at one and the same time a following and an opposition. Pro and con forces take the field, each resorting to mass-action tactics to influence public opinion. The matter enters the political process, with final decision by majority

vote. In the pull and haul of individuals and groups, there are likely to be a number of casualties. One, as Lippmann says with eloquence, may well be the truth.³

When distant and unfamiliar and complex things are communicated to great masses of people, the truth suffers a considerable and often a radical distortion. The complex is made over into the simple, the hypothetical into the dogmatic, the relative into the absolute. Even when there is no deliberate distortion by censorship and propaganda . . . the public opinion of the masses cannot be counted upon to apprehend regularly and promptly the reality of things. There is an inherent tendency in opinion to feed upon rumors excited by our wishes and fears.

One main import of the path-of-action idea is apparent. By far the majority of the nation's communities, now weakened and divided, cannot initiate civic change action. Only their interlocking systems of human relations, their segmented institutions and agencies, can do this. Thus, by the very nature of mass living, an HR unit or subunit decides what action should be taken and then asks the community for authority (legitimacy) and assistance. This is the position of public education, a fact of significance to school leaders.

For the public schools, the board of education is the acting, proposing institution, the initiator of educational programs. Behind the board, informing it, stimulating it, are the school heads and their staffs, and behind these the pupils and their parents. The community is the consenting authority, and in theory the school system and the community complement each other. Changes in one should be reflected in the other, and what is good for one should be good for the other. It is in light of this theory that so-called "attacks" on the schools, if they are authentic, are particularly disturbing.

POWER, LOCAL AND NATIONAL

Of all the aspects of community, the most neglected and most in need of penetrating research is the idea of power system. Power is hard to study; in truth, one of its striking characteristics is the ability to ward off outside inquiry. A model of the sort

³ Walter Lippmann, *Essays in the Public Philosophy*, Little, Brown, 1955, p. 25.

needed is provided in a recent study of a Southern city, probably a state capital.

In this study, Hunter⁴ selected a number of informants, people who should know about people, and asked them to name to him the top men in the community, the men of power. He then sought out these persons and interviewed them as to their part in local life, their participation in civic and other affairs, their decision-making functions. The main finding was that power is highly concentrated in a small set, chiefly in big-business and industrial leaders. A few quotes will show how, in terms of Hunter's findings, the community power structure operates.

Putting over a Civic Project⁵

In order to find out how the power system works, the researcher interviewed leading power holders. He asked how they would go about putting over a major project, such as building a new hospital. James Treat, his first informant, said that no one in his group would go to any of the organized associations, for example, the Chamber of Commerce. "They just sit around, discussing goals and ideals, and I'll be frank with you, I don't know what a lot of these things mean."

Mr. Treat continued. "Charles Homer is the biggest man in our crowd. He gets an idea. When he gets an idea, others will get it . . . He got the idea that Regional City should be national headquarters for an International Trade Council. He called in some of us, and he talked briefly about his idea. He did not talk much. We do not engage in loose talk about the 'ideals' of the situation. We get right down to the problem of how to get this Council. We all think it is a good idea. There are six of us in this meeting.

"All of us are assigned tasks to carry out. Moster is to draw up the papers of incorporation. He is the lawyer. I have a group of friends that I carry along. Everyone else has a group of friends he will do the same with. These fellows are what you might call followers."

It was agreed to raise \$65,000 to finance the project. Treat notes that this sum might have been raised within his own crowd, but since the Council was to be a community project, "we decided to bring the

⁴ Floyd H. Hunter, *Community Power Structure*, University of North Carolina Press, 1953.

⁵ *Ibid.* Quotations are used by permission of the University of North Carolina Press, publishers.

other crowds into the deal." Members of these groups were invited to a dinner.

"When we met at the — Club for dinner, Mr. Homer makes a brief talk. He ends by saying that he believes in the proposition enough to put \$10,000 into it. He sits down. You can see some of the other crowds getting their heads together. The Growers Bank crowd offers a like amount, plus a guarantee that they will go along with the project for three years. Others throw in \$5,000 to \$10,000 until—I'd say in 30 or 40 minutes—we have pledges of the money we need."

Mr. Treat added another detail. "We went into that meeting with the board of directors picked." The head of the Trade Council was to be a third-level power man, "a fellow who will take advice."

Asked when the public was informed, Treat said, "After the matter is financially sound, then we go to the newspapers and say there is a proposal for consideration. Of course, it is not news to a lot of us by then, but the Chamber of Commerce and other civic organizations are brought in. They all think it's a good idea. They help to get the Council located and established. That's about all there is to it."

In general, the picture is that of pyramids of power, all more or less coordinated into an operational whole. The highest rank (or inner circle) is composed of about 40 persons in this city of a half million, with Mr. Homer at the top. These leaders are not elected or appointed by the people; in truth, their names may not be known to the voting public. They are pretty much self-selected as part of a self-perpetuating system. It is relevant to note that the city and county superintendents of schools made the bottom of the 40-leader list. Hunter says little about the schools, except to state that they are used—as are other channels of mass communication—to diffuse power group ideas.

Although no review of power research can be given here, at least one other inquiry should be mentioned. This is a book by Mills,⁶ a study assessed in one review as "both fascinating and infuriating." It was said that the author "sold the nation short," that he "ignores our strengths and exaggerates our faults." Another critic commented that "he does not give the power elite credit for the good they do." To us, the book seems strongly biased, yet much of it is true in terms of common knowledge.

Mr. Mills begins by tracing the way the American society has

⁶ Wright Mills, *The Power Elite*, Oxford University Press, 1956.

been formed, how the nation has been shaped. For example, local industries—each once a small productive unit in free competition—have merged into corporations. He believes that from two to three hundred of these giants “now hold the key to economic—and to an extent political—decisions in the United States.” The political order, once “a decentralized set of states with a weak spinal cord,” has become a powerful, centralized establishment that enters into “every cranny of the social structure.” As for the military, it has grown into the largest, most expensive feature of government, “a pervasive influence in the life of every citizen.”

It is within these three systems that the author finds the “power elite.” There is, first, the big rich, the corporate wealth. Second, the top politicians, men who “no longer rise through elected ranks but step straight into high administrative posts, picked from the upper echelons of big business, Army, and Navy.” Third are the generals and admirals, “the Johnnys-come-lately to power,” owing to nuclear fission and its impact on the world, and to a “permanent war economy.”

These are the men, as Mills sees it, who are in control, who “dominate” American life. The author stresses the growing tendency of these three fields to overlap, thus to increase the power of the men at the top. He is disturbed at the interchangeability of high roles. Key men in each sphere move easily from one position to another—generals become corporation executives, executives take political office, and military men sit at the top in politics and business.

NATURE OF POWER

It is a long step from Mills’ sweeping concern, and an anticlimax, to descend to the routine study of power, the practical aspects of power as they impinge on local school personnel.

One meets power on many pages of the present textbook. There was Mr. X, in Chapter 1, the school-board member who stood pat for “plain math.” There was, a little later, the best power case in the book, the labor-management squabble in a Detroit industry. Students will recall Mr. Sears at the Allan Rice School, who shared his power with the faculty; Superintendent Allison, a weak figure in the struggle to raise teachers’ salaries at

Mercer; Coach Mike at Mine City; the school head who fired Miss Monnerie; and principal Beck, who protested the treatment of Sarah Jarvis yet felt that the Freemont power system was too much for him to tackle. Many other examples could be named.

What is power? Who holds it? How is it used? If power corrupts, what can be done about that? And where, in all of this, do the public schools fit in? There is as yet no definitive answers to these questions. One should, in consequence, be respectful of experiences and opinions which differ from his own.

To comprehend power, one might think of some social system that is simpler than a total community, for instance, a school system. If power is the ability to compel decisions, the school head has a share of it. He can, with board approval, hire and fire teachers, promote or demote them, make or reject budgets, order and reorder the work life of the school. His power is delegated, adhering to his office, yet it must not be confused with office holding. One may be "officized" to act but lack the power to make decisions stick. Authority is not power, nor is prestige or influence, for the influential may be the agents of the powerful.

The relation of power to force can be seen in a navy concept, the fleet in being, the fleet ready for action.⁷ The state of being represents power, even if no battle is fought. When the fleet goes into action, power is translated into striking force. Power is, then, latent force, *a pattern of compulsions that can be applied*. One may, to be sure, read the signs wrong, in which case power is not power but bluff, fake, pretense. Where bluff goes unquestioned, as it so often does in life, it can achieve the same ends as power.

From a score of empirical studies known to us, the local power structure appears to be an inner core of persons surrounded by circles of lesser-power persons who connect the core with the community. The core is small, possibly some five to ten individuals, *whatever the size of the public*. This is due chiefly, it would seem, to the core's internal dynamics, the fact that *more than this* number of top persons would find it very hard to interact intimately, rather secretly, and with dispatch. Lesser leaders function in two main ways: to keep the core informed of area needs and

⁷ This and other ideas here are taken from Robert Bierstedt, "An Analysis of Power," *American Sociological Review*, 1950, 15: 730-738.

reactions, and to implement top-level decisions. The total system is, as said before, self-protective, so that it is difficult to apply conventional social science methods to this type of research.

LEADER ROLES IN ACTION PROCESSES

Most school persons who take part in area action processes do so as fairly average participants, a worthy status in every way. But let us imagine that communities are today expecting more leadership by school personnel, a greater willingness on their part to assist in area civic undertakings. How can school people fit in? In general, if one studies the problem he will find school heads, teachers, and others taking five major roles, with the choice of role depending on personal and circumstantial variables:

Traditional researcher

Participant observer

Research consultant

Action researcher

Project director

These roles are not listed in order of preference, for we have no reliable data on that. All fall along a "study-action" continuum and all overlap, a point that would take time to clarify. None of the roles can be treated here to the extent its importance merits; in fact, some will have to be omitted altogether. Comments were made on action research in Chapter 2.

Traditional researcher is the role many students are taught in college, especially social science majors. This person is a craftsman, one trained in the logic and methods of his study field. He stands outside the data under investigation, aloof from people, noninvolved in their life. He seeks testable truth, usually the ways in which persons behave. His aim is not to change people, unless his work is experimental, but to understand them in order to be able to predict. He believes that science may promote human welfare; in truth, he hopes it will; but that depends on the uses others make of science findings, a matter beyond his control.

Graduate students often take this role, at first in thesis research

and then perhaps on the school job. It is relevant to say that a good many educators have lost faith in this way of improving school or school-community programs. Corey's critique of traditional researchers is illustrative.

They seem to believe, however, that their published discoveries will, in due course . . . bring about changes for the better. The fact that the professional researcher is rarely, if ever, actively engaged in trying to do something about the problem he is studying is cited as a virtue. Concern about practical action resulting from his research might contaminate his data, his experimental design, his reputation with his peers.⁸

This writer, a distinguished researcher in his own right, goes on to state that problem solvers are supposed to apply the research findings they read about, but that they seldom do. A study becomes "just another study," printed in the journals and filed on library shelves. It has no effect, or little effect, in improving school policies and/or practices. Corey recommends action research as, in general, a better method of achieving program changes.

In the main, we believe Corey is right. He is expressing the common complaint of so-called practical persons, a feeling that the kind of research under scrutiny has not contributed to change action as it should. Where the fault lies depends on how one views the research role. The traditional scientist would reject the test of use in change making as relevant to his work. His central concern is, to repeat, to make a contribution to knowledge, to build a body of organized, conceptual knowledge, which is science.

The *research-consultant* role is highly favored among school leaders, community sociologists, and others. Among the five roles listed, it is perhaps worth the most study. The University of Alabama scientists who assisted in the Talladega health survey were research consultants. Let us see how they related themselves to this community project.

⁸ Stephen M. Corey, *Action Research to Improve School Practices*, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1953, p. 5. Used by permission of the publishers.

The Research Consultant⁹

We entered the research arrangement with certain working assumptions which we also made specific to members of the community. We accepted that any activity in which we engaged had to be conducted within the existing social and cultural systems as defined by the community. We also made clear that it was not our responsibility to attempt to propagandize or to influence the community to modify its existing systems or activities. Finally, it was our position that we take no active part in organization, or in definition of problems or procedures, except to the extent that specific questions were referred to us for study and recommendation.

Each of these agreements was hammered out, no doubt, in discussions which threatened to get lost, or to erupt, for it is not easy to communicate this type of research attitude to a lay group. The main points to note are the limited responsibilities accepted by the consultants or, put in reverse, the kinds of decisions left to the community council group. Kimball and his associates did not, for instance, take any position on the color caste system of the town, thus opened themselves to criticism by anticaste professors at Talladega College.

The work the consultants elected to do was technical, that is, to assist and advise on study making. Here is a part of this particular job.

The questions to be included . . . were submitted by committees concerned with different aspects of the health inventory. These questions were taken by us, reworded when necessary, and organized in a manner to permit the use of a manual by unskilled workers. The questionnaire was then revised by the policy board of the community council and, after minor modifications, was given final approval.

The town was divided into areas . . . and a sample was drawn from every fifth family. . . . Volunteer workers white and Negro were recruited from numerous organizations. . . . We provided instructions on the use of the questionnaire and, in addition, each interviewer reviewed his first questionnaire with us after its completion.

Obviously, if this is typical, the consultant role requires a degree of technical expertness in study making, a depth of training

⁹ Kimball and Pearsall, *op. cit.*, Appendix A. Used by permission of the University of Alabama Press, publishers.

rather rare among school personnel. This is a point to mark, for it applies to all study-action roles, thus limits the effective leadership of school people in these school-community programs.

One more quote from the Talladega survey must suffice. One can see in the next few paragraphs the authors' insight into their role, their general sophistication in respect to human relations.

It is unrealistic to assume that we do not exert influence or that no change in the community arises from our activity. Our part in the questionnaire has caused questions to be asked . . . which would not have otherwise arisen. The selection and training of interviewers has brought persons together and given them experiences. . . . Although we avoid value judgments about the findings, the supervision we provide in tabulation puts classes of facts into new relations and makes possible new insights. . . .

It should be clear by now that the research-consultant role . . . is a more difficult position than the straight research role in a traditional community survey. Although the objective is to remain clear of specific community problems, the involvement is considerable since it is necessary to work as a team member with citizens. . . . The worker must remain aloof from much of community life and yet he must also be an observer and participant in it. This role, if successful, demands considerable skill . . . and the measure of success is the extent to which confidence is bestowed and participation widened.

The basic skill is related to the degree of understanding of social and cultural systems. There is the necessity to move within this framework and, at the same time, to exert no appreciable influence. There is the need to move in terms of the tempo and problems of the community. There must be evolved a definition of activities that is acceptable to the community and yet clearly expresses the objectives which are inherent in the relationship. And there must be the facility to adjust as the working relationships change in terms of the situation. It can be seen that the demands under which one works are great, but the rewards may also be great.

The benefits which accrue extend to both community life and sociology as a science. Although our knowledge of the dynamics of community is far from adequate, there are some areas in which we can claim competence. For example, we know that the wider the participation and the deeper the involvement the greater the likelihood that citizens will act on problems. But we also know that existing cleavages all too frequently prevent efficient and needed solutions from being

realized. If sociological skills can be utilized to assist in bridging the gap between separate group factions so that they work together, then we have made a contribution to creative living.

Indeed the consultant is in a more difficult position than is the traditional researcher, and the reason is that he is involved in human relations. In theory, he advises only when his advice is asked and then only on study questions. In practice, anyone who works in intimate contact with people cannot remain uninvolved in their humaneness. His mere presence affects persons. By his own acts, or by the acts of others, he is drawn into area subsystems where efforts to keep free, if they were successful, would do damage to his research effectiveness. Kimball and Pearsall are quite clear on all this.

If one pursues the theme just mentioned, that of involvement with people, he comes to the *project-director* role. Many school heads function in this capacity in community causes and movements. Their work is in the main that of action managers, i.e., initiators, organizers, facilitators, analyzers, and translators to the public and the profession.¹⁰

It has been said that a study director, because of his stake in work outcomes, can scarcely contribute to either the art or the science of human relations education. We disagree with this. The myth that one becomes objective by sitting on the sidelines of an action program, by speaking when spoken to, by taking no position on a moral issue, dies a hard death among social scientists. The persistence of these puristic attitudes keeps social scientists out of school and community projects, as well as limits their leadership in such projects. It causes some to dash about and with much ado, change from one hat (scientist) to another (citizen) in ways that would look ludicrous to any man of commonsense.

Objectivity, to the extent possible, is indeed basic to valid and reliable study making. It is not, per se, a role, but rather a component in all research roles. It is an attitude one takes toward his work, a discipline he imposes on himself, plus skill in using science tools. A project director is, in a sense, an experimentalist. He

¹⁰ For a book-length example, see Lloyd Allen Cook, *Intergroup Relations in Teacher Education*, American Council on Education, 1950.

is in position to cause things to happen, to try out and to test. He can be as committed to values as anyone may wish at the start and at the end of the study project. It is in the middle stage, that of study designing, data gathering and processing, that he must deal rigorously with his own moral attitudes.

AN ATTITUDE TOWARD POWER

One thought remains, a thought on which to conclude the chapter and the book. That is the relation of schools to local power systems. Let us try to tell but briefly how this looks to us.

1. *Schools are part of area power systems.* Counts¹¹ made this plain a long time ago. Why there has been no follow-up of his study is a point to ponder. Some school heads know a lot about local power, but, in our experience, they are reluctant to discuss the subject. Both school heads and teachers know that every time they seek to improve a program, or to expand a service, they touch the power structure. For better or worse, schools are a part of community power systems.

2. *School people should study power and its uses.* Excluded from this are the "too busy" and the naïve, the latter being the kind of person who might sally forth, buttonhole a prominent citizen, and ask him if he were a power holder, a member of the power elite. How to study power is too complex for much of a comment. There is observation, the kind of look-see-ask inquiry that one can make as he moves about the community in the course of his work. There is also the Hunter method, a technique that can readily be improved. There are, above all, the occasions when power becomes manifest, as in school bond campaigns. One way or another, a record might be kept and the subject written about in the journals school people read.

3. *School role in power circles is variable.* By and large, the function of schools would seem to be that of diffusing and protecting power interests and concerns. And yet, there come to mind offhand three exceptions to this rule. We have known many schools in small places where personnel are initiators of change action in the community. Second, where teachers are organized

¹¹ George S. Counts, *School and Society in Chicago*, Harcourt, Brace, 1928.

as in a number of big cities, they have scored notable victories in their efforts to improve salaries and work conditions, often over powerful opposition. Third, some school administrators have made news headlines by standing for what they believed, even when that meant the loss of their job.

4. *Schools must work with power persons.* This axiom is, one might suppose, self-evident. What else can school personnel do? To take a job in a school is to identify with an institution which is, in turn, committed to cooperation and public service. The real questions are how this work is to go on and the point at which further effort is to end. Of course, one should learn from the public what it wants, what it can (or will) pay for, and should keep it informed. Beyond these commonsense actions, it seems well within good practices to try to persuade power persons and, finally, to negotiate with them. All these arts are foundational in a democracy, and we can think of no sufficient reason why school people should not use them.

5. *Schools should insist upon the right to educate the young in democratic living*, including the nature and uses of power. As research on power accumulates, as it seems bound to do, we shall have data from which to check much that Mills¹² dislikes, fears, hates, condemns, and protests. In respect to his study of Regional City, Hunter expressed the views that (a) the power leader system was undemocratic in the sense of not resting on the expressed will of the people, and (b) it was inefficient in discharging public business. He meant by the latter point that the structure of power is so narrow—so few persons at the top—that policy does not get made, because of lack of time.

There is a principle which, if applied with rigor, would help school personnel in relating themselves to power. It is that educators, though appointed by a board representing the public and retained by it, owe their basic allegiance not to the board or to any power group. Within the limits of reason and good sense, they owe their first allegiance to the frames of reference, scientific and moralistic, within which they are trained and live and work. They owe it to the cause of better public education, to the statutes and the law, and to their own integrity as persons. They

¹² *Op. cit.*

are, in sum, *professionals*, a word that says a great deal more than we need to try to spell out. To be thoroughly professional is a most worthy public-service ideal.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Explain your idea of community as a system of human relations. Give examples from experiences of how area subsystems interconnect.
2. If you were promoting a change program in a rural community, such as health services for children, tell what groups and interests you would contact and to what sanctions you would appeal. Do the same for a big city.
3. Have you made yourself a student of so-called "attacks" on the public school? Appoint a class committee to read and report on either of these two volumes:
E. O. Melby and M. Puner (eds.): *Freedom and Public Education*, Frederick A. Praeger, 1953
C. W. Scott and C. M. Hill (eds.): *Public Education under Criticism*, Prentice-Hall, 1954
4. Read and report to class on one of these studies:
Floyd Hunter: *Community Power Structure*, University of North Carolina Press, 1953
Floyd Hunter et al.: *Community Organization: Action and Inaction*, University of North Carolina Press, 1956
Harold Lasswell: *A Study of Power*, Free Press, 1950
C. Wright Mills: *The Power Elite*, Oxford University Press, 1956

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